

A F F A I R S O F CHURCH and STATE I N ENGLAND,

During the Life and Reign
O F
QUEEN MARY.

Heb 11. 35, 36, 37.

35. *Some of them were tortured, not accepting deliverance ; that they might obtain a better Resurrection.*
36. *And others had triall of cruell mockings and scourgings ; yea moreover of bonds and imprisonment.*
37. *They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were slain with the sword ; they wandred about in Sheep-skins and Goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, &c.*

Vell. Patere. Lib. 2.

Hujus temporis fortunam ne deflere quidam quippiam satis dignè potuit ; nemo exprimere verbis potest.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

L O N D O N ,

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W. Palmer. Anno 1660:



The Parentage, Birth, and first Fortunes
of the Princessse

M A R Y,

The Eldest Daughter of K. Henry the Eighth,
before her comming to the CROWN.

*With a brief Narrative of her Mother's Misfortunes, from
the first Agitating of the Divorce, till the time of her Death;
and that which followed thereupon.*



MARY, the eldest Daughter of King Henry the Eighth, and of Katherine his first wife, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella Kings of Spain, was born at Greenwich on the 18th day of February, Anno 1516. Her Mother had before been married to Arthur Prince of Wales, the elder Brother of King Henry; but whether bedded by him or not, (more than as to some old Formalities of Court, on the like occasions) was not commonly known: But he dying within few months after, King Henry the Seventh, the father of the deceased Prince, was secretly dealt with by the Agents of the said Ferdinand and Isabella, to proceed unto a second Marriage between Henry Duke of York, his now onely son, and their daughter Katherine. To which King Henry readily condescendeth, upon divers reasons; partly to be assured of the assistance of the Kings of Spain, against all practises of the French; and partly that so great a Treasure, as the Rents and Profits of the Princessse's Joynature might not be carried out of the Kingdom, as needs must be, if she should be married to a Prince of another Nation. This being agreed on by the Parents of either side, Pope Julius the 2^d. is solicited for a Dispensation: to the Grant whereof he willingly yielded, knowing how necessary it was to the Peace of Christendom, that those Kings should be united in the strictest Leagues of Love and Amity. Which comming to the knowledge of the Princessse Katherine, who understood her own condition better than her father or mother, she caused those words, *vel forsan coenitum*, to be inserted into the Bull or Dispensation; and this she did for the preventing of all such disputes as might arise about the validity of the Marriage, in case the consummation of it should be openly known; though afterwards those words were used as the shrewdest Argument for the invalidating of the Marriage, when it came in question. And some such thing was thought to have prevailed with King Hen-

ry the seventh, for deferring the advancement of *Henry* his second son to the Style, Title, and Dignity of Prince of *Wales*, that he might first be well assured, that no child was likely to be born of the former Marriage, to whom that Title might more properly and of right belong.

The Dispensation being thus granted, Prince *Henry*, being then eleven years of age, or thereabouts, is solemnly contracted to the Princess *Katherine*, who must needs have a very great stock, as well of Christian-Prudence, as of Virgin-Modesty, to wait the growing up of a Husband being then a child, and one of whose affection to her, when he should come to Man's estate, she had no assurance; and so it proved in the event: For *Henry* had no sooner finished the fourteenth year of his age, when, either by the compunction of conscience, the perswasion of some that wish'd him well, or upon consideration of the disproportion of age which was then between them, (the Princess being eight years the elder) he resolv'd upon the breaking and annulling of the said Contract, in which his Parents had engaged him. To which end, making his addresse to Doctor *Richard Fox*, then Bishop of *Winchester*, he openly renounceth the said Contract, not by word only, but by the subscription of his name to a Legall Instrument, containing the effect of that Renunciation, his Resolution never to proceed any farther in it, and his Reasons for it. Which Instrument he published in the presence of *John Read*, a publick Notary, (the Bishop sitting then at *Richmond*, as in Court or Consistory) and witnessed unto by *Miles Daubeny*, Lord Chamberlain to King *Henry* the seventh, and father of *Henry* Earl of *Bridgewater*; Sir *Charles Sommersey* Banneret, created afterwards Earl of *Worcester*; Dr. *Nicolas West*, after Bishop of *Elis*; Dr. *Thomas Rowthall*, after Bishop of *Durham*; and Sir *Henry Mainie*. The Instrument it self, extant in the History of *John Speed*, may be there consulted. And in pursuance of this Act, he waiv'd the Consummation of the Marriage from one time to another, till the death of his father, which happened on the 22 of April, An. 1509. he being then within two months of the age of eighteen years. But being now come unto the Crown by the death of his father, Reason of State prevail'd so far beyond that of Conscience, that he consented to the consummation of the Marriage, which before he had solemnly renounced, and did accordingly celebrate those unhappy Nuptials (the cause of so much trouble both to him and others) on the second of June, and caus'd her to be Crown'd with him on the 24 th. of the same month. This Marriage was blest within the year by the birth of a son, whom the King caus'd to be Christned by the name of *Henry*; and five years after with another, who lived not long enough to receive his Baptism.

1519.

But *Henry*, the first-born, not living to be two months old, the King remained childlesse till the birth of this daughter *Mary*, the presumptive Heir of his Dominions; committed in her Infancy to the care and charge of the Lady *Margaret*, daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and by the King (in reference to her descent from the house of the *Montagues*) advanced unto the Style and Title of Countesse of *Sarisbury*, An. 1513. And herein it was thought, that the Queen had a particular aim beyond that of the King, and that she rather chose to commit her daughter to the care of that Lady, than of any other in the Kingdom; to the end, that some affection growing to her by any of the Countesse's sons, her daughter's Title to the Crown might be corroborated by the Interesse of the House of *Clarence*. And so far her design succeeded, that the Princess *Mary* always carried such a dear affection to *Reginald Pole*, her second son, (best known by the name of Cardinal *Pole* in the following times) that when she came unto the Crown, she would have made choice of him for her husband before any other, if the necessity of her affairs, and some artifices us'd to illude that purpose, had not changed her mind. She had scarce liv'd to the third year of her age, when she was promised in marriage to the Dauphine of *France*, with a Portion of 333000 Crowns, to be paid by her Father, and as great a Joynture to be made by the French King *Francis*,

1519.

as ever had been made by any King of that Country. And so far did the business seem to be acted in earnest, that it was publicly agreed upon in the treaty for the Town of *Tournay*, that the *Espousals* should be made within four months, by the said two Kings, in the name of their children; in pursuance whereof, as the *French* King sent many rich gifts to some leading men of the Court of *England*, to gain their good liking to this League, so he sent many costly Presents to the Princess *Mary*, the designed wife (if Princes could be bound by such designations) of the heir of *France*.

But war beginning to break out between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, it was thought fit by *Charles* the fifth, being then Emperour of *Germany*, and King of *Spain*, to court the favour of the *English*; for the obtaining whereof, his nearness to Queen *Katherine*, being sister to the Queen, his Mother, gave him no small hopes. Upon this ground he makes a voyage into *England*, is royally feasted by the King intitled solemnly Knight of the Order of the Garter, in the Castle of *Windsor*, and there capitulates with the King amongst other things, to take to wife his daughter *Mary*, as soon as she should come to the years of marriage; it was also then and there agreed, that as soon as she was twelve years old, the Emperour should send a proxy to make good the contract & espouse her *per verba de presenti* in the usual form; that in the mean time the King of *England* should not give her in marriage unto any other, that a dispensation should be procured from the Pope, at the charge of both Princes, in regard that the parties were within the second degree of consanguinity; that within four months after the contract, the Princess should be sent to the Emperour's Court, whether it were in *Spain* or *Flanders*, at the sole charge of the King of *England*, and married within four dayes after her coming thither, in the face of the Church; her portion limited to 400000 crowns, if the King should have no issue male, but to be enlarged to 600000 crowns more, if the King should have any such issue male to succeed in the Kingdom. A jointure of 50000 crowns *per annum*, to be made by the Emperour, the one part thereof to be laid in *Flanders*, and the other in *Spain*; and finally, that if either of the said two Princes should break off this marriage, he should forfeit 400000 crowns to the party injured.

1522.

And now who could have thought but that the Princess *Mary*, must have been this Emperour's wife, or the wife rather of any Prince, then one that was to be begotten by this Emperour, on another woman, though in conclusion so it hapned. As long as *Charles* had any need of the assistance and friendship of *England*, so long he seemed to go on really in the promised marriage, and by all means must have the Princess sent over presently to be declared Emperesse, and made Regent of *Flanders*. But when he had taken the *French* King at the bartel of *Pavia*, sackt *Rome*, and made the Pope his prisoner, he then conceived himself in a condition of seeking for a wife elsewhere, which might be presently ripe for marriage, without such a tedious expectation, as his tarrying for the Princess *Mary* must needs have brought him. And thereupon he shuts up a marriage with the Lady *Isabell*, Infanta of *Portugall*, and daughter to another of his Mother's sisters. For which being questioned by the King, he layes the blame upon the importunity of his Council, who could not patiently permit him to remain unmarried, till the Princess *Mary* came to age; and who besides had caused a scruple to be started, touching her illegitimation, as being born by one that had been wife to his elder brother. King *Henry* thereupon proceeds to a new treaty with the *French*, to whom his friendship at the time of their King's captivity had been very useful; which is by them as cheerfully excepted, as by him it had been frankly offered. She had before been promised to the Daulphin of *France*, but now she is design'd for the second son, then Duke of *Orleans*, who afterwards, by the death of his elder brother, succeeded his father in the Crown. But whilst they were upon this treaty, the former question touching her legitimation, was again revived by the Bishop of *Turkie*, one of the Commissioners for the *French*, which though it seem'd

1525.

seem'd not strong enough to dissolve the treaty which the *French* were willing to conclude (as their affairs then stood) upon any conditions; yet it occasioned many troubles in the Court of *England*, and almost all Christendome besides.

1526.

For now the doubt being started a second time, and started now by such, who could not well subsist without his friendship, began to make a deep impression in the mind of the King, and to call back such passages to his remembrance, as otherwise would have been forgotten. He now bethinks himselfe of the Protestation which he had made in the presence of Bishop *Fex* before remembred, never to take the Lady *Katherine* for his wife; looks on the death of his two sons, as a punishment on him for proceeding in the marriage; and casts a fear of many inconveniences, or mischiefs rather, which must inevitably befall this Kingdome, if he should dye, and leave no lawful issue to enjoy the Crown. Hope of more children there was none, and little pleasure to be taken in a conversation; which the disproportion of their years, and a greater inequality in their dispositions, must render lesse agreeable every day then other. In this perplexity of mind, he consults his *Confessor*, by whom he was advised to make known his griefs to Cardinal *Wolsie*, on whose judgement he relied in most other matters; which hapned so directly to the Cardinal's mind, as if he had contrived the project. The Emperour had lately cross'd him in his suit for the Popedome, and since denied him the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, with the promise whereof he had before bound him to his side. And now the Cardinal resolves to take the opportunity of the King's distractions, for perfecting his revenge against him. In order whereunto, as he had drawn the King to make peace with *France*, and to conclude a marriage for his daughter with the Duke of *Orleanse*; so now he hopes to separate him from the bed of *Katherine*, the Emperour's Aunt, and marry him to *Madam Rhinee*, the *French* Queens sister, who afterwards was wife to the Duke of *Ferrara*. About which time the picture of *Madam Margaret*, the sister of King *Francis*, first married to the Duke of *Alanzon*, was brought amongst others into *England*, by *Thomas Bolen*, Viscount *Rochford*, at his return from the *French* Court, where he had been Ambassador for the King of *England*: which first occasioned a report in the common people, and afterwards a mistake in our common Chronicles, touching this Ladie's being designed by *Wolsie* for a wife to his Master; whereas she was at that time actually married to the Count of *Albret*, King of *Navarre* in title, and in title only.

1527.

But *Rochford* brought with him out of *France* another Piece, which more excelled the picture of the Dutchesse of *Alanzon*, then that Dutchesse did the ordinary beauties in the Court of *France*; that is to say, his daughter *Anne*, whom he had bred up for a time in the house of the Dutchesse, which render'd her an exact mistresse of the gaities and garb of the great *French* Ladies. Appearing in the Court of *England*, she shewed her selfe with so many advantages above all other Ladies about the Queen, that the King easily took notice of her. Whether more captivated by the Allurements of her beauty, or the fascinationesse of her behaviour, it is hard to say; certain it is, that he suffered himselfe to be so far transported in affection towards her, that he could think of nothing else, but what might tend to the accomplishment of his desires; so that the separation from the bed of *Katherine*, which was but coldly followed upon case of *Conscience*, is now more hotly prosecuted in the heat of *Concupiscence*. In the mean time the King adviseth with the Cardinal, and the Cardinal with the most learned men in the Realm of *England*. By whom it was modestly resolved, that the King had a very just ground to consult the Pope, and to use all lawful means for extricating himselfe out of those perplexities, in which this marriage had involved him. The Pope had been beholden to the King, for procuring his liberty, when the *Imperialists* held him prisoner in the Fort of *St Angelo*, and was in reason bound to gratifie him for so great a benefite. But then withall, he neither was to provoke the Emperour, nor hazard the

the Authority and Reputation of the See Apollotick, by running on the King's errand with more haste then speed. He therefore goes to work like a Pope of *Rome*, and entertains the King with hopes; without giving the Emperor and his adherents, any cause of despair. A Commission is therefore granted to two Cardinals, that is to say, Cardinal *Thomas Wolfe*, Archbishop of *Tork*, and *Laurence Campegius*, whom *Henry* some few years before, had made Bishop of *Salisbury*; both beneficiaries to the King, and therefore like enough to consult more his interest, then the Queen's contentment.

Of the erecting of a Court *Legatine* in the Convent of the *Black Friars* in *London*, the citing of the King and Queen to appear before them, the Kings patheticall Oration in the bemoaning of his own misfortunes, and the Queen's Appeal from the two Cardinals to the Pope, I shall now say nothing; leaving the Reader for those passages to our common *Annals*. Suffice in this place to note, that while the businesse went on favourable in the King's behalfe, *Wolfe* was given to understand of his desperate loves to Mistrisse *Bellen*, which represented to him two ensuing mischiefs, not to be otherwise avoided, then by slackning the course of these proceedings. For first, he saw that if the King should be divorc'd definitively from his present wife, he should not be able to draw him to accept of Madam *Rhenee* the *French Queens* sister, which was the mark he chiefly aimed at. And secondly, he feared that Mistrisse *Anne* had brought so much of the *Lutheran* with her, as might in time become destructive to the Church of *Rome*. Of this he certifies the Pope, the Pope recalls *Campegius*, and revokes his Commission; leaving the King to cast about to some new wayes to effect his purpose. And at this time it hapned, that Dr *Thomas Crammer* (who afterwards obtained to the See of *Canterbury*) discoursing with some of the Kings Ministers, about the intricatenesse and perplexity of this great affair; declared, for his opinion in it, that it were better for the King to govern himselfe therein, by the judgement and determination of the Universities beyond the seas, then to depend upon the Shifts and Artifices of the Court of *Rome*. Which being told unto the King, he dispatcheth *Crammer* unto *Rome*, in the company of *Rochford*, now made Earl of *Wiltshire*, to maintain the King's cause by disputation; and at the same time employs his agents to the Universities of *France* and *Italy*, who being under the command of the *French King*, or the power of the Pope, gave sentence in behalfe of *Henry*, condemning his marriage with the Lady *Katherine*, the Relict of his brother, to be simply unlawful in it selfe, and therefore not to be made valid by a dispensation from the Popes of *Rome*.

The putting the King upon this course, proved the fall of *Wolfe*; who growing every day lesse then other in the King's esteem, was brought within the compasse of a *Præmunire*, and thereby stript of all his goods to an infinite value; removed not long after unto *Tork*, and there arrested of High Treason by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and committed to the custody of Sir *William Kingston*, being then Lieutenent of the Tower. By whom conducted towards *London*, he departed this life in the Abby of *Leicester*: his great heart not being able to endure so many indignities, as had been lately put upon him, and having cause to fear much worse then his former sufferings. But the removing of this Rub, did not much smooth the way to the King's desires. The Queen's appeal unto the Pope, was the greatest difficulty, from which since she could not be removed, it must be made unprofitable and ineffectual, for the time to come. And thereupon a Proclamation is set forth on the 19 of *September*, 1530. in these following words; viz. "The King's Highnesse" "streightly chargeth and commandeth, That no manner of person, of what estate, degree or condition, he or they be of, do purchase, or attempt to purchase, from the Court of *Rome*, or elsewhere, nor use, nor put in execution, "divalge or publish, any thing heretofore within this year passed, purchased, "or to be purchased hereafter; containing matter prejudicial to the High "Authority, Jurisdiction, and prerogative Royal of this his said Realm, or to

1528.

1529.

1530.

“the lett, hinderance, or impeachment, of his Grace's Noble, and Vertuous intended purposes in the premises; upon pain of incurring his Highnesse's indignation, and imprisonment, and farther punishment of their bodies, for their so doing, at his Grace's pleasure; to the dreadful example of all others.

This was the Prologue to the downfall of the Pope in England, seconded by the Kings taking to himselfe the Title of *Supream Head* of the Churches of England and Ireland, acknowledged in the Convocation, and confirmed in Parliament, and ending finally in an Act intituled, *An Act for extinguishing the authority of the Bishops of Rome*. And in all this the King did nothing but what he had example and Authority for, at that very time; for in the year 1520 (being but ten years before the setting forth of this Proclamation) *Monseigneur a' Lautreith*, Governour for the French King, in the Dukedome of *Milain*, taking a displeasure against Pope *Leo* the tenth, deprived him of all his jurisdiction within the Dukedom. And that being done, he so disposed of all Ecclesiasticall affairs, that the Church there was supremely governed by the Bishop of *Bigorre* (a Bishop of the Church of France), without the intermeddling of the Pope at all. The like we find to have been done by the Emperour, *Charles* the fifth, who being no lesse displeased with Pope *Clement* the eighth, abolished the Papal power and jurisdiction, out of all the Churches of his Kingdome in Spain, which though it held but for a while (till the breach was closed) yet left he an example by it (as my Author noteth) that there was no necessity of any Pope or Supreme Pastor in the Church of Christ. And before either of these Acts or Edicts came in point of practice, the learned *Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris* (when the Popes power was greater far, then it was at the present) had writ and published a discourse, entituled, *De austeribilibus Papa*, touching the totall abrogating of the Papall Office. Which certainly he had never done, had the Papall Office been found essentiall, and of intrinsecall concernment to the Church of Christ. According unto which position of that learned man, the greatest Princes of those times did look upon the Pope, and the Papall power, as an *Excrescence* at the least in the body mysticall, subject and fit to be pared off, as occasion served. And if they did, or do permit him to retain any part of his former greatnesse, it is permitted rather upon selfe-ends, or Reasons of state, or otherwise to serve their turn by him as their need requireth, then out of any opinion of his being so necessary, that the Church cannot be well governed, or subsist without him.

1531.

But leaving these disputes to some other place, we must return unto the Queen. To whom some Lords are sent in the end of *May*, an. 1531. declaring to her the determinations of the Universities, concerning the pretended marriage betwixt her and the King. And therewith they demanded of her; whether, for quieting the King's conscience, and putting an end to that debate, she would be content to refer the matter to four Bishops, and four temporall Lords. But this she absolutely refused, saying, She was his lawful Wife, that she would stand to her Appeal, and condescend to nothing in that particular, but by the counsel of the Emperour, and the rest of her friends. This answer makes the King more resolute, more open in the demonstration of his affections to the Lady *Anne Bollen*, whom he makes Marchionesse of *Pembrook*, by his Letters Patents, bearing date the first of *September*, 1532. takes her along with him to *Calis* in *October* following, there to behold the glorious interview betwixt him and the French King; and finally, privately marieth her within few dayes after his return, the divorce being yet unsentenced betwixt him and the Queen. Not long after which, it was thought necessary to the King, to call a Parliament, wherein he caused an Act to passe, that no person should appeal for any cause out of this Realm, to the Pope of *Rome*; but that all Appeals should be made by the party grieved from the Commissary to the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King, as had been anciently observed amongst the first Kings of the House of *Normandy*. It was also enacted in the same, that all causes Ecclesiasticall

Ut præfatus
cris Bigotanno
Episcopo, omnia
sine Romani Po-
tificis autori-
tate administra-
rentur. Thuan.

Ecclesiasticam
disciplinam ci-
tra Romani no-
minis autori-
tatem posse con-
secrari.

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ricall Cognifances, in which the King himfelf was a Party, fhould be determined finally in the Upper-Houfe of Convocation, without being bound to make recourfe to the Court of *Rome*. During the fitting of which Parliament it is declared by Proclamation, that Queen *Katherine* fhould no longer be called *Queen*, but Princeffe Dowager, as being the Widow of Prince *Arthur*, not the Wife of King *Henry*.

Warham Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the mean time dying, *Cranmer* is defigned for his Succellor in that eminent dignity; which he unwillingly accepts of, partly in regard that he was married at that time, and partly in reference to an Oath which he was to take unto the Pope at his Consecration. But the King was willing, for his own ends, to wink at the one, and the Pope was not in a condition (as the cafe then flood) to be too peremptory in the other. So that a Proteftation being admitted, of not being otherwife bound to the Pope, than fhould be found agreeable to the Word of God, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, he takes his Oath, and receives the Epifcopall Consecration, the 30th. of *March*, 1533. the Parliament ftill fitting which before we fpake of. At his firft entrance into the Houfe of Convocation, he propounds two Queftions to be confidered and difputed by the Bifhops and Clergy; the firft was, Whether the marrying of a Brother's wife, carnally known, though without any iffue by him, be fo prohibited by the Will and Word of God, as not to be difpenc'd withall by the Pope of *Rome*. The fecond was, Whether it did appear, upon the Evidence given in before the Cardinals, that *Katherine* had been carnally known by Prince *Arthur*, or not. Both Queftions being carried in the Affirmative, though not without fome Oppofition in either Houfe, in the firft efpecially; it was concluded thereupon in the Convocation, and not long after in the Parliament alfo, That the King might lawfully proceed to another Marriage.

Thefe preparations being made, the Marriage precondemned by Convocation, and all Appeals to *Rome* made ineffectuall by A&T of Parliament, the new Archbishop (upon his own defire & motion, contain'd in his Letters of the 11th of *April*) is authorifed by the King, under his *Signe Manuall*, to proceed definitively in the Caufe. Who thereupon, accompanied with the Bifhops of *London*, *Winchefter*, *Wells*, and *Lincoln*, and divers other perfons to ferve as Officers in that Court, repaired to *Dunstable* in the beginning of *May*; and having a convenient place prepared in the form of a Coniftory, they fent a Citation to the Princeffe Dowager, who was then at *Ampill*, (a Mannor-houfe of the King's about fix miles off) requiring her to appear before them at the day appointed; which day being come, and no appearance by her made, either in Perfon, or by Proxie, (as they knew there would not) ſhe is called peremptorily every day, fifteen days together; and every day there was great poafting betwixt them and the Court, to certifie the King and *Cromwell* (a principall ftickler in this bufinelfe) how all matters went. In one of which, from the new Archbishop, extant in the *Cottonian* Library, a Refolution is fignified to *Cromwell* for comming to a final Sentence on *Friday* the 18th. of that Month, but with a vehement conjuration both to him and the King, not to divulge fo great a fecret, for fear the Princeffe Dowager on the hearing of it, either before, or on the day of paffing Sentence, fhould make her appearance in the Court: "For (faith he) if the noble Lady *Katherine* ſhould, upon "the bruit of this matter, either in the mouthes of the Inhabitants of the "Country, or by her Friends, or Counfell, hearing of this bruit, be moved, "ftirred, conſelled, or perſwaded to appear before me, in the time, or afore "the time o' Sentence, I ſhould be thereby greatly ſtaid and let in the Pro- "ceffe, and the King's Grace's Counsell here prefent ſhall be much uncertain "what ſhall be then further done therein. For a great bruit and voice of the "people in this behalfe, might perchance move her to do the thing, which per- "adventure ſhe would not if ſhe hear little of it. And therefore I pray you "to ſpeak as little of this matter as you may, and to move the King's High-
B "neffe

"neffeso to do, for consideration above recited. But so it happed to their wish, that the Queen, persisting constant in her Resolution of standing to the Judgment of no other Court than the Court of *Rome*, vouchsafed not to take any notice of their proceeding in the Cause. And thereupon, at the day and time before designed, she was pronounced to be *Contumax* for defect of Appearance; and by the generall consent of all the Learned men then present, the Sentence of the Divorce was passed, and her Marriage with the King declared void, and of none effect.

Of all these doings, as the Divorced Queen would take no notice, so by her Officers and Attendants she was served as in her former capacity. Which comming to the King's knowledge, he sends the Duke of *Suffolk* and some others in the month of *July*, with certain Instructions given in Writing, to perswade her, to submit to the Determinations of the King and State, to lay aside the Title of Queen, to content herself with that of the *Princesse Dowager*; and to remove her from the Bishop of *Lincoln's* house at *Bayden*, where she then remained, to a place called *Some-sham*, belonging to the Bishop and Church of *Eli*. To none of which when she would hearken, an Oath is tendered to her Officers and the rest of her Household, to serve her onely in the capacity of *Princesse Dowager*, and not as formerly in the notion of a Queen of *England*. Which at the first was generally refused amongst them, upon a Resolution which had been made in the Case by *Abel* and *Berker*, her two Chaplains; that is to say, That having already took an Oath to serve her as Queen, they could not with a good conscience take any other. But in the end, a fear of losing their said places, but more of falling into the King's displeasure, so prevailed upon them, that the Oath was taken by most of them; nor suffered from thenceforth to come into the Queen's presence, (who looked upon them as the betrayers of her Cause) or to perform any service about her Person. Some Motives, to induce her to a better conformity, were ordered to be laid before her; none like to be more prevalent, than that which might concern the Interest of her daughter *Mary*. And therefore it was offered to her consideration, "That chiefly, and above all things, she should have regard to "the Honourable, and her most dear Daughter, the Lady *Princesse*; from "whom, in case the King's Highnesse (being thus enforced, exagitated, and "moved by the unkindnesse of the Dowager) might also withdraw his Princely "estimation, goodnesse, zeal, and affection; it would be to her no little regret, sorrow, and extream calamity. But the wise Queen knew well enough, that if she stood, her Daughter could not do amisse; whereas there could be nothing gained by such submissions, but the dishonour of the one, the Bastardising of the other, and the excluding of them both from all possibility of being restored in time to come to their first condition.

Finding small hopes of any justice to be done her in the Realm of *England*, and not well able to endure so many indignities as had been daily put upon her, she makes her complaint unto the Pope, whom she found willing to show his teeth, though he could not bite. For presently hereupon a Bull is issued, foraccusing both the King and the Realm; the Bearer hereof not daring to proclaim the same in *England*, caused it to be set up in some publick places in the Town of *Dunkirk*, (one of the Haven Towns of *Flanders*) that so the roaring of it might be heard on this side of the Sea, to which it was not safe to bring it. But neither the Pope nor the Queen Dowager got any thing by this rash adventure, which onely served to exasperate the King against them, as also against all which adhered unto them. For in the following Parliament, which began on the 25th. of *January*, and ended on the 30th. of *March*, an Act was pass'd, inhibiting the payment of First-fruits to the Bishop of *Rome*, and for the Electing, Consecrating, and Confirming of the Archbishops and Bishops in the Realm of *England*, without recourse unto the Pope, cap. 20. Another Act for the Attaindure of *Elizabeth Barton*, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*, with many other her adherents, for stickling in the cause of the

the Princess Dowager, cap. 12. and finally, of *Establishing the Succession* in the Crown Imperiall of this Realm, cap. 22. In which last Act, the Sentence of the Divorce was confirmed and ratified, the Princess Mary declared to be illegitimate, the Succession of the Crown entailed on the King's Issue by Queen Anne Bollen, an Oath prescribed for all the Subjects in maintenance of the said Statute of Succession, and taken by the Lords and Commons at the end of that Parliament, as generally by all the Subjects of the Kingdom within few months after. For the refusal whereof, as also for denying the King's Supremacy, and some suspicion of confederacy with Elizabeth Barton, Doctor John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, not many days before created Cardinal by Pope Paul the 3^d. was on the 22 of June beheaded publicly on the Tower-hill, and his head most disgracefully fixed upon a Pole, and set on the top of the Gate on London-Bridge. And on the 6th. of July then next following, Sir Thomas Moor, who had succeeded Wolfe in the place of Lord Chancellor, was beheaded for the same cause also. But I find him not accused, as I do the other, for having any hand in the Conspiracy of Elizabeth Barton.

The Execution of which great persons, and of so many others who wish'd well unto her, added so much affliction to the desolate and disconsolate Queen, that not being able longer to bear the burden of so many miseries, she fell into a languishing sickness; which more and more encreasing on her, and finding the near approach of death, (the onely remedy now left for all her sorrows) she dictated this ensuing Letter, which she caused to be delivered to the King by one of her Women, wherein she laid before him these her last requests, viz.

My most dear Lord, King and Husband
(for so she called him.)

THe hour of my death now approaching, I cannot chuse but, out of the love I bear you, advise you of your souls health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world, or flesh, what soever: For which yet you have call'd me into many calamities, and your self into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you Mary our daughter, beseeching you to be a good Father unto her, as I have heretofore desired. I must enreat you also to respect my Maids, and give them in Marriage, which is not much, they being but three. And to all my other servants a years pay, besides their due, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for. Lastly, I make this Vow, That mine Eyes have desired you above all things.

Farewell.

Within few days after the writing of which Letter, that is to say, on the 8th. of January then next following, she yielded her pious Soul to God at the King's Mannor-house of Kimbolton, in the County of Huntingdon, and was solemnly interred not long after in the Abbey of Peterborough. The reading of her Letter drew some tears from the King, which could not but be much encreased by the news of her death. Moved by them both to such a measure of commiseration of her sad condition, that he caused the greatest part of her goods (amounting to 5000 Marks) to be expended on her Funerall, and in the recompencing of such of her servants as had best deserved it. Never so kind to her in the time of her life, as when he had rendred her incapable of receiving a kindness.

The Princess Mary is now left wholly to her self, declared illegitimate by her Father, deprived of the comfort of her Mother, and in a manner forsaken

ken by all her friends, whom the severe proceedings against *Moor* and *Fisher* had so deterred, that few durst pay her any offices of Love or Duty. Of any proceedings in the March with the Duke of *Orleans*, we hear no more news, all further prosecution of it being at a stand by the misfortunes of her Mother; nor was she sought in Marriage by any other Prince in the life of her Father, but only by *James* the 5th. of *Scotland*; but finding himself deluded in it by King *Henry*, he thought it best to strengthen himself by a March with *France*, where he was first married to *Madam Magdalen*, the first daughter of *K. Francis*, and afterwards to *Mary* daughter of *Claude* of *Lorraine*, Duke of *Guise*, by whom he had one only daughter called *Mary* also. In which condition, the poor Princess had no greater comfort than what she could gather from her Books, in which she had been carefully instructed by Doctor *J. du Bois*, alias *Harman*, appointed her Tutor by the King; and, for his good performance in that place of trust, advanced by him to the See of *Exon*, *An.* 1529. and afterwards made Lord President of *Wales*; which fell out better for the Tutor, than it did for the Pupill; Who being left destitute of the counsel of so grave a Man, began to give way more and more to her grief and passions, which brought her at the last to such an averseness from the King, and such a manifest disaffection to his Person and Government, that he was once upon the point of sending her prisoner to the *Tower*; and had so done, if *Cranme* had not interposed some powerfull reasons to dissuade him from it.

During which time of her averseness, the King sent certain of the Lords to remove her to *Hatfield*; who having no authority to treat her by the name of Princess, but only to execute the King's commands, gave her occasion thus to signify her discontentments, "My Lords (said she) as touching my removing to *Hatfield*, I will obey his Grace, as my duty is, or to any other place that his Grace will appoint me. But I protest before you, and all other that be here present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take any other than my self for Princess, or for the King's Daughter, born in lawfull Matrimony; and that I will never wittingly or willingly say or do, whereby any person might take occasion to think, that I agree to the contrary. Nor say I this out of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my Judge; but that if I should do otherwise, I should in my conscience slander the Deed of our Mother, the holy Church, and the Pope, who is the Judge in this matter, and none other; and also should dishonour the King my Father, the Queen my Mother, and falsly confesse myself a Bastard, which God defend that I should do, since the Pope hath not so declared it by his Sentence definitive, to whose final Judgment I submit myself. In pursuance of which claim to the Title of Princess, together with the Priviledges and Preheminences thereunto belonging, she writes this following Letter to the King her Father, on a like occasion.

IN most humble wise I beseech your Grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth it the same to be advertised, that this morning my Chamberlain came and shewed me, that he had received a Letter from Sir William Paulet, Controller of your House; the effect whereof was, that I should with all diligence remove unto the Castle of *Hertford*. Whereupon I desired him to see the same Letter, which he shewed me; wherein was written, That the Lady *Mary*, the King's Daughter, should remove to the place before-said, leaving out in the same the name of Princess. Which when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily, that your Grace was not privy to the same Letter, as concerning the leaving out of the name of Princess; forasmuch as I doubt not in your goodnesse, but that your Grace doth take me for your lawfull Daughter, born in true Matrimony. Wherefore if I should agree to the contrary, I should in my conscience run into the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly, that your Grace would not that I should. And in all other things, your Grace shall have me always as humble an obedient Daughter and Handmaid, as ever was child to the

the father, which my duty bindeth me to; as knoweth our Lord, who have your Grace in his most holy mission, with much honor and long life, to his pleasure.

From your Mannor of
Beaulieu, Octob. 2.

By your most humble Daughter,
MARY Princess.

And on these terms she stood, from the Divorce of her Mother till the Attaindure of Queen Anne Bollen, against whom she thought it did concern her to bear up to the highest, as she did accordingly.

But growing into better hopes by the death of the said Queen Anne, the Annulling of the Marriage also, and the Bastardising of the Princess Elizabeth her onely daughter, she began to cast about again, writes her submissive Letters to the King her father, and humbly craves some testimonies of his love and goodnesse: Which so prevailed, that the Duke of Norfolk is sent to treat with her upon certain Instructions; so necessary to the knowledge of her affairs, in this Coniuncture, that they deserve a place here, and are these that follow.

Certain Articles and Injunctions, given by the King's Highness to his right Trusty and right entirely beloved Cousen and Counsellor, the Duke of Norfolk; whom, with certain others in his company, His Majesty fendeth to the Lady Mary his Daughter, for the Purposes ensuing.

First, whereas the said Lady Mary hath sundry ways, with long continuance, shewed her self so obstinate towards the King's Majesty, her Sovereign Lord and Father, and so disobedient to his Laws, conceived and made upon most just, vermouth, and godly grounds, that as the wilfull disobedience thereof seemeth a monster in Nature; so, unless the mercy of his Highness had been most abundantly extended unto her, by the course of his Grace's Laws, and the force of his Justice, she endangered her self so far, that it was greatly to his Highness's regret and heavy sorrow, to see and perceive how little he esteemeth the same; extending to the losse of his favour, the losse of her honour, the losse of her life, and undoubtedly to the indignation of Almighty God. For that she neither obeyeth her Father and Sovereign, nor his just and veruous Laws aforesaid. And that of late neverthelesse calling to remembrance her transgressions and offences in this part towards God, her Father and Sovereign Lord the King's Highness; she hath written to the same three sundry Letters, containing a declaration of her repentance conceived for the Premises, with such an humble and simple submission, as she appeareth not onely to submit her self wholly, and without exception, (especially by the last Letter) to the Laws, but also for her state and condition, to put her self onely to his Grace's mercy; nothing desiring but mercy and forgiveness for her offences, with a reconciliation to his Grace's favour.

Albeit his Majesty hath been so ingratly handled and used by her, as is aforesaid declared, that the like would enforce any private person to abandon for ever such an unkind and inobedient child from their grace and favour; yet, such is his Majesty's gracious and divine nature, such is his clemency and pity, such his mercifull inclination and Princely heart, that, as he hath been ever ready to take pity and compassion of all offenders, repentantly calling and crying for the same; So, in case he may thoroughly perceive the same to be in the said Lady Mary's heart, which she hath put in pen and writing, his Highness considering the imbecillity of her sex; being the same is frail, inconstant, and easie to be perswaded by simple counsell, can he right well contented to remitte unto her part of his said displeasure. And therefore hath at this time, for the certain knowledge of her heart and stomach, sent unto her his said Cousen, with others, to demand and enquire of her certain Questions. Her Answer whereunto his pleasure is they shall require, and note in writing, which shall

shall thoroughly decipher, whether she be indeed the person she pretendeth, or for any respect hath with generall words laboured to cloak the speciall matter, which is repugnant and contrary to that, which his Majesty hath gathered and conceived of the same.

1. And first, after their Access and Declaration of the Premises, they shall for their first Question demand of her, Whether she doth recognize and knowedge the King's Highnesse for her Sovereign Lord and King, in the Emperiall Crown of this Realm of England, and will and doth submit her self unto his Highnesse, and to all and singular the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, as becommeth ever, true and faithfull Subject to do.

2. Also, whether she will with all her power and qualities, that God hath endued her withall, not only obey, keep, and observe all and singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm; but also set forth, advance, and maintain the same, to the utmost of her power, according to her bounden duty.

3. Also, whether she will recognize, accept, take, and repnte the King's Highnesse to be suprem Head in Earth, under Christ, of the Church of England, and utterly refuse the Bishop of Rome's pretended Power and Jurisdiction, heretofore usurped in this Realm, according to the Laws and Statutes of the same, made and ordained in the behalf of all the King's true Subjects, humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and observed: And also will and do renounce, and utterly forsake, all manner of Remedy, Interesse, and Advamag by the said Bishop of Rome's Laws, Prozesse, or Jurisdiction to her in any wise appertaining, or that hereafter may by any Title, Colour, or Mean, belong, grow, succeed or appertain, or in any case may follow or ensue.

4. And whether she will and doth, of her Duty and Obedience towards God, her Allegiance towards the King's Highnesse, and the Laws of this Realm, and also of the sincere love and zeal that she beareth towards the Truth, freely and frankly recognize and knowedge, without any other respect, both by God's Law and Man's Law, the Marriage heretofore had between his Majesty and her Mother, to be unlawfull.

5. Also, Be she enquired or examined, For what cause, and by whose motion and means she hath continued and remained in her obstinacy so long; and who did embold, or animate her thereto, with other circumstances thereof appertaining?

6. Also, What is the cause, that she at this present time, rather then at any other heretofore, doth submit her selfe?

To these six Articles, she was required to give a plain and positive answer: Which plainly shewes the doubtfulnesse and uncertainty of her present condition, in being either forced to confesse her selfe to be illegitimate, or running on the last hazzard of the Kings displeasure, if she should do otherwise. But wisely considering in her selfe, whom she had to deal with, she thought it safest to strike sale, and to submit her selfe to him, with whom it was not lawfull for her to dispute that point, if she had been able. She therefore makes a cleer acknowledgement of the four first Articles, by the subscribing of her name; but craved leave to demur on the two last, because some persons were concern'd in them, whom she was not willing to discover. And by this means she gain'd so far upon the King, that from that time forwards, he held her in the same ranck with the rest of his children; gave her her turn in the succession of the Kingdome; assigned her portion of ten thousand pounds, to be paid at her marriage, and in the interim, three thousand pounds *per annum*, for her personal maintenance. And more then this he did not do for his daughter Elizabeth; notwithstanding the esteem and affection which he bare to her mother; for bringing whom into his bed, he had cancelled all the bonds of his former marriage. Little or nothing more occurth of her in the time of King Henry, because there was little or nothing altered in the face of Religion, which might give her any cause of publick or personall dislike. But when the great alterations hapned in the time of King Edward, she then declared her selfe more openly

openly (as she might more safely) in opposition to the same : concerning which she thus declares her selfe in a Letter to the Lord Protector, and the rest of the Council, dated at Kenninghall, June 23. An. 1549.

My Lord,

I Perceive by the Letters which I late receiv'd from you, and other of the Kings Majesties Councel, that you be all sorry to find so little conformity in me, touching the observation of his Majestie's Laws ; who am well assured I have offended no law, unlesse it be a late law of your own making, which in my conscience is not worthy the name of Law, both for the King's honors sake, and the wealth of the Realm, and giving the occasion of an evil bruis throughout all Christendome, besides the partiality used in the same, and (as my conscience is very well perswaded) the offending God, which passeth all the rest. But I am well assured, that the King his Fathers Lawes, were all allowed and consented to, without compulsion, by the whole Realm, both spiritual and temporal, and all the Executors sworn upon a book to fulfil the same, so that it was an authorized Law. And that I have obeyed, and will do with the grace of God, till the King's Majesty my brother, shall have sufficient years to be a Judge in this matter himself. Whereunto (my Lord) I was plain with you at my last being in the Court, declaring unto you at that time, wherunto I would stand ; and now do assure you all, that the only occasion of my stay from a tiring of mine opinion, is for two causes. One principally for my conscience ; the other, that the King my brother shall not hereafter charge me to be one of those that were agreeable to such alterations in his tender years. And what fruits dayly grow by such changes, since the death of the King my Father, to every indifferent person, it well appeareth, both to the displeasure of God, and unquietnesse of the Realm.

Notwithstanding, I assure you all, I would be as loath to see his Highnesse take hurt, or that any evil should come to this his Realm, as the best of you all ; and none of you have the like cause, considering how I am compelled by nature, being his Majesties poor and humble sister, most tenderly to love and pray for him, and unto this his Realm (being born within the same) with all wealth and prosperity to God's honour. And if any Judge of me the contrary for mine opinions sake, as I trust none doth, I doubt not in the end, with Gods help, to prove my selfe as true a natural and humble Sister, as they of the contrary opinion with all their devices, and altering of lawes, shall prove themselves true Subjects ; I pray you my Lords, and the rest of the Councel, no more to unquiet and trouble me with matters touching my conscience, wherein I am at a full point with Gods help, whatsoever shall happen to me, intending with his grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suits, but to bestow the short time I think to live, in quietnesse ; and I pray for the King's Majesty, and all you, heartily wishing, that your proceedings may be to God's honour, the safeguard of the King's person, and quietnesse of the whole Realm. And thus, my Lords, I wish unto you, and all the rest, as well to do, as my selfe.

Upon such passages of this Letter, which seemed most to pinch upon them, the Lords returned their Gloffe or Comment, but such as had more in it of an *Animadversion*, then an Explication. They signified withall, how well they understood their own Authority ; how sensible they were of those inconveniences, which the example of her inconformity to the lawes established, was likely to produce amongst the rest of the subjects. No favour being otherwise to be hoped for from them, the Emperour is moved to intercede in her behalfe by his Ambassador, then residing about the Court. Upon whose earnest solicitation, it was declared by the King, with the consent of his Councel (as appeareth by their letters to her, of the 25th of December) " That for his sake, " and her own also, it should be suffered and winked at, if she had the private " Masse used in her own closet for a season, untill she might be better informed ; " but so that none but some few of her own chamber should be present with " her, and that to all the rest of her household, the Service of the Church should " be only used. For the abuse of which indulgence, in saying Masse promis-

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cruously (in her absence) to her household servants, *Mallet* and *Barklay* two of her Chaplains, are seized on, and committed prisoners, which first occasioned an exchange of Letters betwixt her and the King, and afterwards more frequently between her and the Council; for which, consult the Acts and Mon. fol. 1213. 1214. A proposition had been made about the surrendry of *Bul-loigne*, for a marriage betwixt her and the Prince of *Portugal*; and the like motion made in favour of the Duke of *Brunswick*, whilst the other treaty was depending. But neither of the two succeeding to the wish of the party, a plot was laid to passe her over into *Flanders*; shipping provided to transport her, some of her servants sent before, and a commotion practised in the County of *Essex*; that in the bustle she might be conveyed away without any discovery. But this plot being happily prevented by the care and diligence of Sir *John Gates*, one of the Captains of the *Genis d'armes* (then lately ranged under the command of the Marquess of *Northampton*) she was by him conducted much against her will, to the Lord Chancellors house at *Leeds*; from thence to *Hunsdon*, and at last to *Westminster*. Much troubled at her coming thither upon the apprehension of Sir *Robert Rochester*, Sir *Walgrave*, and Sir *Francis Inglesfield*, servants of special trust about her, and all suspected to be privy to the design, for conveying her over into *Flanders*.

Much care was taken, and many endeavors used by the King and Council, to win her to a good conceit of the Reformation. But her interest was to bound up with that of the Pope, that no persuasions could prevail with her to desert that cause, on which her own *legitimation*, and the validity of her mothers marriage, did so much depend. As much unprofitable pains was taken by the Emperours Agents, in labouring to procure for her, the exercise of her own Religion; mingling some threats with their intreaties, in case so great a Prince should be refused in so small a suit. Which when it could not be obtained from the King, by the Lords of the Council, nor by the mediation of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *London*, (whom the Lords employed to move him in it); the Emperour laid aside the prosecution of a cause, which he perceived he could not carry. And the King slackned by degrees, his accustomed diligence, in labouring by persuasions to work on one, who was resolved before hand not to be persuaded. So that being weary of the Court, and the Court of her, she was permitted for a time to remain at *Hunsdon*, in the County of *Hartford*. To which place (being in the Diocese of *London*) Bishop *Ridley* had recourse unto her, and at first was kindly entertained. But having staid dinner at her request, he made an offer of his service, to preach before her on the Sunday following; to which she answered, *That the doors of the Parish Church adjoining, should be open for him, that he might preach there if he listed; but that neither she nor any of her servants, would be there to hear him.* Madam, said he, *I hope you will not refuse to hear Gods word.* To which she answered, *That she could not tell what they called Gods word; that which was now called the word of God, nor having been accustomed such in the days of her father.* After which, falling into many different expressions against the Religion then established, she dismissed him thus. *My Lord, said she. For your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offer to preach before me, I thank you not.* Which said, he was conducted by Sir *Thomas Wharton*, one of her principall Officers, to the place where they dined, by whom he was presented with a cup of wine; which having drank, and looking very sadly on it, *Surely, said he, I have done amisse, in drinking in that place, where Gods word offered was refused. Whereas if I had done my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken the dust from off my feet, in testimony against this house, in which the word of God could not find admittance.* Which words he spake with such a vehemency of spirit, as made the hair of some of those which were present, to stand an end, as themselves afterwards confessed.

1553. Of this behaviour of the Princeesse, as the Bishop much complained in other places, so most especially in a Sermon preached at *St Pauls Crosse*, on the sixteenth

sixteenth of July; in which he was appointed by the Lords of the Council, to set forth the title of Queen *Jane*, to whom the succession of the Crown had been transferred by King *Edward*, at the solicitation and procurement of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who served himself of nothing more, than of her obstinate avernesse from the reformed Religion, then by law established. The cunning contrivance of which plot, and all that had been done in pursuance of it, hath been laid down at large in the *Appendix* to the former book. Suffice in this place to know, that being secretly advertised of her brothers death, she dispatched her letters of the ninth of July, to the Lords of the Council, requiring them not only to acknowledge her just title to the Crown of this Realm, but to cause proclamation of it to be made in the usual form; which though it was denied by them, as the case then stood, yet she was gratified therein by the Mayor of *Normich*, who first proclaimed her Queen, on the fourth day after; as afterwards was done in some other places, by those who did prefer the interest of King *Henry's* children, before that of the *Dudley's*. But hearing of the great preparations which were made against her, and finding her condition in a manner desperate, when she first put her self into *Framingham* Castle, she faithfully assured the Gentry, and other inhabitants of the County of *Suffolk*, that she would not alter the Religion which had been settled and confirmed in the Reign of her brother. On which assurance, there was such a confluence to her from those parts of the Kingdom, that in short space she had an army of fourteen thousand fighting men to maintain her quarrel. The newes whereof, together with the risings of the people in other places on the same account, wrought such an alteration in the Lords of the Council, whom she had before solicited in vain to allow her title, that on the nineteenth of July, she was solemnly proclaimed Queen at *Cheapside* Cross; not only by their general and joint consent: but by the joyful acclamations of all sorts of people. But as Mariners seldom pay those vows which they make in a tempest, when once they are delivered from the danger of it; so *Mary* once established in the Royal Throne, forgot the services which she received from those of *Suffolk*, together with the promises which she made unto them in the case of Religion. Insomuch, that afterwards being petitioned by them in that behalf, it was answered with more churlishnesse than could be rationally expected in a green Estate, *That members must obey their Head, and not look so rule it.* And that she might no more be troubled with the like Petitions, she caused one *Dobb*, a Gentleman on *Windham* side, who had presumed to put her in remembrance of her former promise, to be punished by standing in the Pillory three dayes together, to be a gazing stock to all men. But such is the condition of our humane nature, that we are far more ready to require a favour, when we stand in need of it, than willing to acknowledge or requite it, when our turn is served. Of which we cannot easily meet with a clearer evidence, than the example of this Queen; who was so far from gratifying those who had been most aiding to her in the time of her trouble, that she persecuted them, and all others of the same persuasions, with fire and faggot, as by the sequel of her story will at large appear.

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He interposings in behalf of the Lady *Jane* being disrelished generally in most parts of the Kingdome, *Mary* the eldest sister of King *Edward* the sixth is proclaimed Queen by the Lords of the Council, assisted by the Lord Mayor of *London*, and such of the Nobility as were then resident about that City, on Wednesday the nineteenth day of *July*, Anno 1553. The Proclamation published at the Crosse in *Cheap*, with all solemnities accustomed on the like occasions; and entertained with joyfull acclamations by all sorts of people, who feared nothing more, than the pride and tyranny of the Duke of *Northumberland*. To carry which news to the Queen at *Framingham*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, are dispatched immediately by the rest of the Council, and Letters are speedily posted by some private friends to the Duke at *Cambridge*. Who understanding how things went, without expecting any order from the Lords at *London*, dismiss the remnant of his Army, and presently repairing into the Market place, proclaimed the Queen, crying, *God save Queen Mary*, as loud as any, and flinging up his cap for joy, as the others did. Which service he had scarce performed, when *Rose* a Pourfuivant of Arms comes to him with instructions from the Lords of the Council, subscribed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Goodrick*, the Lord Treasurer *Panler*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Bedford*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Pembroke*, the Lord *Darset*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *William Peter*, and Sir *William Cecil*, the two principall Secretaries, Sir *John Cheeck*, Tutor to the last King, Sir *John Baker*, Chancellor of the tenths and first fruits, Sir *John Mason*, Master of the Requeits, *R. Bowes*, Master of the Rolls. Most of which had formerly subscribed the answer to a Letter which came to them from the Princeesse *Mary*, on the ninth of *July*, and were all pardoned for so doing, except *Cranmer* only. Now the Tenor of the said Instructions, was as followeth.

In

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In the name of our Sovereign Lady Mary the Queen, to be declared to the Duke of Northumberland, and all other his Band, of what degree soever they be.

YOU shall command and charge in the Queens Highnesse name, the said Duke to disarme himselfe, and to cease all his men of war, and to suffer no part of his army to do any villany, nor any thing contrary to the peace; and himself to forbear his coming to this City, untill the Queens pleasure be expressly declared unto him. And if he will shew himselfe like a good quiet subject, we will then continue as we have begun, as humble suitors to our Sovereign Lady the Queens Highnesse, for him and his, as for our selves. And if he do not, we will not fail to spend our lives in subduing of him and his.

Item, Ye shall declare the like matter to the Marquesse of Northampton, and all other Noble men, and Gentlemen, and to all men of war, being with any of them.

Item, Ye shall in all places where ye come, noisise it; If the Duke of Northumberland do not submit himselfe to the Queens Highnesse, Queen Mary; he shall be accepted as a Traytor. And all we of the Nobility, that were Counsellors to the late King, will to the utmost portion of our power, persecute him and his to their after-confusion.

The Pursuivant having communicated his Instructions, found none more ready to obey them, then the Duke himselfe, who had before dismilt his forces, and now prepared for his departure from that place, though to what he knew not. But as he was pulling on his boots, he was first staid by some of the Pensioners, who being drawn into the action against their wils, resolved to have him in a readinesse to bear witness to it; and after taken into custody by Slegg, a Serjeant. The businesse being in dispute, another Packet comes from the Lords of the Council, by which all parties were required to depart to their severall dwellings; the benefit whereof the Duke laid claim to for himself, and was accordingly left by them at his own disposal. And so he passed that night in some good assurance, that he should fare no worse than the rest of the Council, who had engaged him in the same cause, and by whose order he had undertaken the command of that Army. In the meantime, the Earle of Arundell had done his errand to the Queen, to so good a purpose, that he was presently dispatched with Order to seize upon him. Who coming to Cambridge the next morning, found him preparing for his journey, laid hold upon him, and committed him to the charge of some of the Guard. It is reported, that the Duke had no sooner seen the Earle of Arundell, but he fell down upon his knees, and besought him to be good unto him, humbling himselfe before him with more abjectednesse, than formerly he had insulted over him with pride and insolence. By safe, but easie journies, he is brought unto the Tower on the 25 day of July, together with the Earle of Warwick, the Earle of Huntington, the Lord Hastings; the Lord Ambrose, and the Lord Henry Dudley, two of Northumberlands younger sons; Sir Andrew Dudley, the Duke's brother, Sir John Gates, and Henry Gates his brother (who formerly had served his turn in the destruction of the Duke of Somerset), and Dr Sandys Vice Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Followed the next day after by the Marquesse of Northampton, Dr Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, the Lord Robert Dudley, another of Northumberland's sons, and Sir Robert Corbet; who having made their Applications to the Queen at Framingham, found there no better entertainment, than if they had been taken in some act of Hostility. The 27 day brings in Sir Roger Cholmley, Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, and Sir Edward Mountague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir John Cheek, on the morrow after shattering up the Arrears. But the Duke of Suffolk stayed not long: for being considered in

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himself as an easie person, of whom they were to fear no danger, and otherwise no more in fault than the rest of the Council, he was released again within three dayes after, to the great comfort of his daughter, the late Queen Jane, who would have died dayly for her Father, though but once for her self.

But so it fared not with the Duke of *Northumberland*, a more dangerous person; who, together with John Earl of *Warwick*, his eldest son, and *William Marquisse of Northampton*, was brought to their tryal on the eighth of *August*, before *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, then sitting as Lord High Steward in *Westminster Hall*. The Duke being brought unto the bar, humbled himself with great reverence before his Peers, professing his faith and allegiance to the Queen; against whom he confessed he had so grievously offended, that he intended not to speak any thing in his own defence. But having been trained up to the study of the Laws in his younger dayes, he desired the judgement of the Court in these two points. First, *Whether any man doing any act by Authority of the Princes Council, and by warrant of the Great Seal of England, and doing nothing without the same, might be charged with treason, for any thing which he might do by warrant thereof.* And secondly, (which pinched then his Judges to some purpose) *Whether any such persons as were equally culpable in the crime, and those by whose Letters and Commandments he was directed in all his doings, might sit as Judges, and passe upon his trial as his Peers.* Whereunto it was answered by the Court, with advice of the Judges. First, *That the Great Seal which he pretended for his warrant, was not the Seal of the lawful Queen of the Realm, but is: Sea of an Usurper, who had no authority, and therefore could be no warrants to him.* And secondly, *That if any were as deeply to be touched in the case as himself; yet so long as no attainder was upon Record against them, they were looked upon by the Law, as persons capable of passing upon any trial, and not to be challenged by any in that respect, but only at the Prince's pleasure.* Which being delivered by the Court in point of Law, the Duke conceived that it would be to no purpose for him to plead *Not Guilty*, and thereupon confessed the Indictment, as the other two prisoners also did; they all received judgement in the usual form. On the pronouncing whereof, he besought the Lords to move the Queen, that she would be gracious to his sons, who might be able to do good service in the time to come; considering that they went not with him of their own free will, but only in obedience to his commands, who was their Father; in which as his desires were granted by the Lords, so the Lords were gratified in them by the Queen; none of his sons being executed (though all condemned) except *Guilford* only, whose case was different from the others. The like judgement also pass'd on the morrow after, on *Sir John Gates*, *Sir Henry Gates*, *Sir Andrew Dudley*, and *Sir Thomas Palmer*, who confessing the Indictment also, submitted themselves to the Queens mercy, without further tryal.

In that short interval, which past between the sentence, and the execution, the Duke was frequently visited by *Dr Nicholas Heath*, then newly restored unto the See of *Worcester*. It was another of the requests which he made to the Lords, that some godly and learned man, might be licenced by the Queen, to repair unto him, for the quiet and satisfaction of his conscience; and he resolved to send him none (as she did to others in like case) but one of her own, under a pretence of doing good unto their souls, by gaining them to a right understanding of the faith in Christ. According to which purpose, *Heath* betrays himself with such dexterity, that the Duke, either out of weaknesse, or hope of life, or that it was indifferent to him in what Faith he died, who had shewn so little while he lived, retracted that Religion which he had adorned in the time of King *Edward*, and outwardly professed for some years in the Reign of King *Henry*. And hereof he gave publick notice when he was on the scaffold; on the 22 of that month. In the way towards which, there passed some words betwix him and *Gaile*, each laying the blame of the late action on the other;

other; but afterwards mutually forgiving, and being forgiven, they died in good charity with one another. Turning himself unto the people, he made a long Oration to them, touching the quality of his offence, and his fore-past life, and then admonished the spectators, *To stand to the Religion of their Ancestors, rejecting that of later date, which had occasioned all the misery of the foregoing thirty years; and that for prevention for the future, if they desired to present their souls supported in the sight of God, and were truly affected to their Country, they should expel those trumpets of Sedition, the Preachers of the reformed Religion; that for himself, whatever had otherwise been pretended, he professed no other Religion than that of his Fathers, for testimony whereof, he appealed to his good friend, and ghostly father, the Lord Bishop of Worcester; and finally, that being blinded with ambition, he had been contented to make rack of his conscience, by temporising, for which he professed himself sincerely repentant, and so acknowledged the justice of his death.* A declaration very unreasonable, whether true or false; as that which render'd him less pitied by the one side, and more scorned by the other. With him died also *Gates and Palmer*, the rest of the condemned prisoners being first reprieved, and afterwards absolutely pardoned.

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Such was the end of this great person, the first Earl of *Warwick*, and the last Duke of *Northumberland*, of this Name and Family. By birth he was the eldest son of Sir *Edmond Sutton*, alias *Dudley*, who together with Sir *Richard Empson*, were the chief instruments and promoters under *Henry* the 7th. for putting the penal laws in execution, to the great grievance and oppression of all sorts of subjects. For which, and other offences of a higher nature, they were both sacrificed to the fury of the common people, by King *Henry* the 8th. which possibly might make him carry a vindictive mind towards that King's children, and prompt him to the dis-inheriting of all his Progeny. First trained up (as his Father had also been before him) in the study of the Common Laws, which made him cunning enough to pick holes in any mans estate, and to find ways by which to bring their lives in danger. But finding that the long sword was of more estimation than the long Robe, in the time of that King, he put himself forwards on all actions, wherein honour was to be acquired. In which he gave such testimony of his judgement and valour, that he gained much on the affections of his Prince. By whom he was created Viscount *Lister*, on the 15th. of *March*, An. 1541. installed Knight of the Garter, 1543. and made Lord Admiral of *England*. Employed in many actions against the *Scots*, he came off alwayes with successe and victory; and having said this, we have said all, that was accounted good or commendable in the whole course of his life. Being advanced unto the Title of Earl of *Warwick*, by King *Edward* the 6th, he thought himself in a capacity of making Queens, as well as *Richard Nevil* (one of his Predecessors in that Title) had been of setting up and deposing Kings; and they both perished under the ambition of those proud attempts. Punished as *Nevil* also was, in having no issue male remaining to preserve his name. For though he had six sons, all of them living to be men, and all of them to be married men, yet they went all childlesse to the grave, I mean as to the having of lawful issue, as if the curse of *Jeconijah* had been laid upon them. With him died also the proud Title of Duke of *Northumberland*, never aspired to by the *Percies*, though men of eminent Nobility, and ever since the time of King *Henry* the first, of the Race of Emperours: Which Family, as well in reference to the merit of their Noble Ancestors, as the intercession of some powerful friends, were afterwards restored to all the Titles and Honours, which belonged to that House, in the persons of *Thomas* and *Henry*, Grand children to *Henry* the 5th. Earl thereof, An. 1557.

The matters being thus laid together, we must next look back upon the Queen. Who seeing all obstacles removed betwixt her and the Crown, dissolved her Camp at *Framingham*, consisting of fourteen thousand men; and prepared for her journey towards *London*. Met on the way by the Princess *Elizabeth* her sister, attended with no fewer than 1000 horse, She made her

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entrance into London, on the third of August, no lesse magnificent for the Pomp and bravery of it, than that of any of her predecessors. Taking possession of the Tower, she was first welcomed thither, by Thomas, the old Duke of Norfolk, Anne Durrhessle of Sommerfet, Edward Lord Courtney, eldest son to the late Marquessle of Excester, and Dr Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; all which she lifted from the ground, called them her prisoners, graciously kissed them, and restored them shortly after to their former liberty. Taking the Great Seal from Dr Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, within two dayes after, she gave it for the present, to the custody of Sir Nicholas Hare, whom she made Master of the Rolls, and afterwards committed it, on the 23d. of the same month, together with the Title of Lord Chancellor, on the said Dr Gardiner, then actually restored to the See of Winchester. Having performed the obsequies of her brother, on the 9th. and 10th. she removes her Court unto Whitehall, and there continues, till it was within two or three dayes of her Coronation. Which time now drawing neer at hand, she passed by water to the Tower, on the 27th. of September, accompanied by her Sister, the Princeesse Elizabeth, and a great train of Noble Ladies; made her return through the principal streets of the City, on the last of the same month, in most stately manner; and the next day proceeded with the like magnificence, to the Abby Church; where she was met by three silver Croffes, and eighty singing men, all in rich and gorgeous Coaps, (so sudden a recruit was made of these sacred Vestments); amongst whom went the new Dean of Westminster, Dr Weston, and divers Chaplains of her own, each of them bearing in their hands some Ensign or other. After them marched ten Bishops (which were as many as remained of her perswasion) with their Miters, rich Coaps, and Crosier staves. The Sermon was preached by Dr Day, whom she had restored to the See of Chichester, and the solemnity of the Coronation, celebrated by the new Lord Chancellor: Crammer, Archbishop of Canterbury, being then committed, and otherwise conceived unworthy of so great an honour. Till this time, none more dear to her then her Sister Elizabeth, whom she alwayes took with her by the hand, where-soever she went, and seldome dined or supped without her. But this solemnity being passed over (as if she were now freed from all the fears of a competition) she estranged her self from her in such a manner, as shewed that she had formerly desired her company for some by-respects, and not out of natural affection. More grateful unto other persons, who deserved well of her; she preferred Henry Racliff, Earle of Suffex (Commander Generall of her Army) to the Society of the Garter, which Honour she conferred on his son Thomas after his decease, and to be covered in her Prefence, at all times and places, tending to the custome of the Grandees in the Realm of Spain. Which privilege not being very frequent in the Politie of the Realm of England, I find to be recorded in these following words, viz.

Mary by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth the Supream Head; To all, to whom this present writing shall come, sendeth Greeting in our Lord everlasting. Know ye, that We do give and pardon to Our wel-beloved and trusty Cosen, and one of Our Privy Council, Henry Earle of Suffex, and Viscount Fitzwater, Lord Egremond and Burnel, Liberty, Licence and Pardon, to wear his Caps, Coiffe, or Night-cap, or two of them at his pleasure, as well in Our presence, as in the presence of any other person, or persons within this Our Realm, or any other place of Our Dominions whatsoever, during his life; and these Our Letters shall be his sufficient Warrant in this behalf. Given under Our Sign Mannuall, at Our Pallace of Westminster, 2. Octob. 1. Regni.

With the like Royal gratitude, she advanced the Earle of Arundel, who had deserved as well of her in the Council, as the Earle of Suffex in the Camp, to the Place or Office of Lord Steward; investing him with all those powers and priviledges,

vileges, which had been formerly exercised by the *Lord Great Master*, whom he succeeded in Authority, though not in Title. *Sir Edward Hastings*, who came over to her with 4000 men, she first made Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter, and afterwards Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and Lord *Hastings* of *Loughborough*. *Sir John Williams*, who had done her very good service in *Buckingham* and *Oxford* thires, she honoured with the Title of Lord *Williams* of *Tame*; of which more hereafter. *Sir Henry Jerningham*, who first appeared in *Norfolk* for her, she preferred to be Captain of her Guard, as soon as she came unto the Crown; and toward the latter end of her Reign, *Sir Thomas Thresham* was created Lord Prior of the Order of *St Johns* of *Jernusalem*, and consequently according to the old pretension, the first Baron of *England*. And as for her domestique servants who had suffered with her, she thought it no unfit decorum, that they should in part Reign with her also. To which end she preferred *Hopson* her old Chaplain, to the See of *Normwich*, *Rochester* to be Comptroller of her Household, *Inglefield* to be Master of the Wards, and *Walgrave* to be Master of the Wardrobe, which is sufficient to declare, that she was willing to comply with all obligations, and not to be too long in debt to her greatest subjects, but much less to her menial servants. But in regard that all these were considered for their personal merits, not in reference only to their zeal for the Catholick Cause, she was to shew some act of favour unto those of that party, which might create a confidence in them of her good affections. To which end she made choice of *Sir John Gage* (a man most zealously addicted to the Church of *Rome*) to be Lord Chamberlain of her Household, when she came first to the Tower, to the great satisfaction of all those of that Religion. And that she might in some measure also oblige the rest of her subjects, and make the entrance of her Reign the more pleasing to them, her Coronation was accompanied with a general pardon, at the least in shew. Out of which all prisoners in the Tower, such as remained in the Fleet, together with sixty others, being excepted, and the restrictions and proviso's (with which it was in all parts clogged) being well observed, there were not many, especially of those whom it most concerned, that could create unto themselves any benefit by it.

Thus was the Civil State established on a right foundation, and the succession settled most agreeably to the Laws of Nature, according to the last Will and Testament of King *Henry* the 8th, and the Laws made in that behalfe. But we shall see the pillars of the Church removed, the very foundation of it shaken, and the whole fabrick of Religion so demolished, that scarce one stone thereof did seem to stand upon the other; without regard unto the Laws, and contrary to the will and purpose of King *Edward* the 6th. At the Queens first entrance into *London*, on the third of *August*, she discharged *Gardiner* of the Tower, as she did *Bonner* of the *Marshalsey*, and Bishop *Tunstall* from the Kings Bench, within two dayes after. To make way to whose restitution to their former Sees, Bishop *Ridley* is removed from *London*, Bishop *Poind* from *Winchester*, and an Act of Parliament procured for the restoring of the Church of *Durham*, to all its Lands, Preheminences, and Jurisdicktions, of which it stood divested by the late Act of Dissolution, made in the last year of the King deceased. By the like power, was *Coverdale* displaced from the See of *Exon*, *Scory* from that of *Chichester*, and *Hooper* dispossessed of that Jurisdiction, which he held as the Commendatory of the See of *Worcester*; to which See, *Poyssie*, *Day*, and *Heath*, were again restored. The like course also followed, for the depriving of all *Deans*, *Dignitaries*, and Parochial Ministers, who had succeeded into any of those preferments, during the Reign of the two last Kings, the old Incumbents whereof were then found living, and able to supply their places. Which though it could not be objected against Dr *Cox*, either in reference to his Deanty of *Christ Church*, or that of *Westminster*, (both which he held at the same time) yet being brought unto the *Marshalsey*, on the 5th. of *August*, he was unjustly spoiled of both, to make room for Dr *Richard*

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Marshall in the one, and *Dr Hugh Weston* in the other. And all this done without so much as any shew of legal processe, or the convening of the persons whom it did concern, or any satisfaction given unto the Laws, (which in some cases favour possession more than right) so strangely violated.

But greater was the havock which was made amongst them, when there was any colour or pretence of Law, as in the case of having wives, or not conforming to the Queens pleasure in all points of Religion; considering how forward and pragmatical too many were, to run before the Laws in the like particular. The Queen was zealous in her way, and by her interest, strongly by-assisted to the Church of *Rome*. But it concerned her to be wary, and not to presse too much at once upon the people, which generally were well affected to the Reformation. Of this she had a stout experiment, within very few dayes after her first entrance into *London*. For so it hapned, that *Dr Bourne*, Arch-Deacon of *London*, and one of the Prebends of *St Paul's*, preaching a Sermon at the Crosse, on the 13th. of *August*, inveighed in favour of *Bishop Bonner*, who was present at it, against some proceedings in the time of the late King *Edward*. Which so incensed the people, that suddenly a great tumult arose upon it; some pelting him with stones, others crying out aloud, pull him down, pull him down, and one (who never could be known) flinging a dagger at his head, which after was found sticking in a post of the Pulpit. And greater had the mischief been upon this occasion, if *Mr Bradford* and *Mr Rogers*, two eminent Preachers in the time of King *Edward*, and of great credit and esteem with the common people, had not endeavoured to appease the enraged multitude, and with great difficulty secured the Preacher in the School adjoining. By reason of which tumult, an Order was taken by the Lords of the Council, with the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, that they calling the next day following a Common Council of the City, should thereby charge every householder, to cause their children and Apprentices, to keep their own Parish Churches, upon the Holy dayes, and not to suffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace. Willing them also to signify to the said Assembly, the Queens determination uttered to them by her Highnesse, the 12th. of *August*, in the Tower. Which was, That albeit her Grace's conscience was staid in matters of Religion; yet she graciously meant not to compel or strain other mens, otherwise than God should (as she trusted) put into their hearts a perswasion of that truth which she was in, through the opening of his word unto them, by godly, vertuous, and learned Preachers; that is to say, such Preachers only, as were to be hereafter licenced by the Queen's sauthority.

But yet for fear that these instructions might not edifie with the common people, Order was taken for preventing the like tumult on the Sunday following. At what time the Sermon was preached by *Dr Watson* (who afterwards was Bishop of *Lincoln*, but Chaplain only at that time to the Bishop of *Winchester*). For whose security, not only many of the Lords of the Council, that is to say, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lords, *Wentworth* and *Rich*, were severally desired to be there present; but *Gerningham*, Captain of the Guard, was appointed with two hundred of his stoutest Yeomen, to stand round about him with their Halberts. The Mayor had also taken Order, that all the Companies in their Liveries should be present at it, which was well taken by the Queen. And because the coming of the Guard on the one side affrighted some, and the Order of the Lords above mentioned had restrained others from coming to those publick Sermons; it was commanded by the Lord Mayor, that the Ancients of all Companies should give attendance at those Sermons for the time to come, lest otherwise the Preachers might be discouraged at the sight of so thin an Auditory. The safety of those publick Preachers being thus provided for by the Lords of the Council, there next care was, that nothing should be preached in private Churches, contrary to the Doctrine which was,

and should be taught at the Crosse by them, which were appointed to it. Whereupon it was further Ordered, that every Alderman in his Ward, should forthwith fend for the Curates of every Church within their Liberties, and warn them not only to forbear preaching themselves; but also not to suffer any other to preach, or make any open or solemn reading of Scripture in their Churches, unless the said Preachers were severally licensed by the Queen. To which purpose Letters were directed also to the Bishop of *Nottingham*, and possibly to all other Bishops in their several Diocesses. But nothing more discovers the true state and temper of the present time, than a Proclamation published by the Queen, on the 18th. of *August*. The Tenor of which is as followeth.

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The Queen's Highnesse well remembring what great inconvenience and dangers, have grown to this her Rea'm in times past, through the diversities of opinions in Questions of Religion; and hearing also that now of late, since the beginning of her most gracious Reigne, the same contentions be again much revived, through certain false and untrue reports, and rumours spread by some evil-disposed persons, hath thought good to give to understand to all Her Highnesse's most loving subjects, her most gracious pleasure in manner following.

First, Her Majesty being presently by the only goodnesse of God, seiled in her just possession of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and other Dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now bide that Religion, which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy hitherto. Which as her Majesty is minded to observe and maintain for her self by God's grace, during her time; so doth her Highnesse much desire, and would be glad the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably entertained.

And yet she doth signifie unto all her Majestie's loving subjects, that of Her most gracious disposition and clemency, Her Highnesse mindeth not to compel any Her said subjects thereunto, until such time as further Order by common assent may be taken therein: Forbidding nevertheless all her subjects, of all degrees, at their perils, to move seditions, or stir unquietnes in her people, by interpreting the Laws of this Realm, after their brains and fantasies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is said) further Order may be taken, and therefore willeth, and strenghtly chargeth and commandeth, all her good loving subjects, to live together in quiet sort, and Christian Charity, leaving those new found devilish terms, of Papist and Hereticke, and such like; and applying their whole care, study and travail, to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and Godly doing, as their lives may indeed expresse the great hunger and thirst of God's glory, which by rash talk and words, many have pretended: And in so doing, they shall best please God, and live without danger of the Laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the Realm. Whereof as her highnesse shall be most glad, so if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblies of people, or at any publick assemblies, or otherwise, shall go about to stir the people to disorder or disquiet, she mindeth according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished, according to her Highnesse's Lawes.

And furthermore, forasmuch as it is well known, that sedition and false rumours have been nourished and maintained in this Realm, by the subtilty and malice of some evil-disposed persons, which take upon them without sufficient authority, to preach and to interpret the word of God, after their own brains, in Churches, and other places, both publick and private, and also by playing of Interludes, and Printing of false fond Books, and Ballads, Rimes, and other lewd Treatises in the English Tongue, concerning Doctrine in matters now in question, and controversies touching the high points and mysteries in Christian Religion; which Books, Ballads, Rimes, and Treatises, are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers, set out to sale to her Graces subjects, of an evil zeal for lucre and covetousnesse of vile gain: Her Highnesse therefore strenghtly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her said subjects, of whatsoever state, condition, or degree they be, that none of them presume from hence-

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forth, to preach, or by way of reading in Churches, or other publick or private places, except in Schools of the University, to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of Doctrine concerning Religion. Neither also to Print any Book, Matter, Ballad, Rime, Enterlude, Proceſſe or Treatiſe, nor to play any Enterlude, except they have her Graces ſpecial Licence in writing for the ſame, upon pain to incur her Highneſſe indignation and diſpleaſure.

It cannot be denied, but that this Proclamation was very cauſiouſly and cunningly penned; giving encouragement enough to thoſe which had a mind to outrun the Law, or otherwiſe to conform themſelves to the Queen's Religion, to follow their own courſe therein, without dread or danger; and yet commanding nothing contrary to the Lawes eſtabliſhed, which might give trouble or offence to the other party. For hereupon many of the people ſhewed themſelves ſo ready for receiving their old Religion, that in many places of the Realm, before any Law was made for the ſame, they erected again their Altars, and uſed the Maſſe, and Latin Service, in ſuch ſort as was wont to be in King Henry's time. Which was ſo well taken by the Queen, that all ſuch as ſtood upon the Lawes which were made to the contrary before, had a mark of diſpleaſure ſet upon them. Which being obſerved by ſome of the Clergy, they were as forward as the reſt, in ſetting up the Pageants of St Catherine, and St Nicholas, formerly erected in the Chancels, and to ſet forth their Proceſſions, (which they celebrated in the Latin tongue) with their old ſolemnities, contrary to the Lawes and Ordinances of King Edward's time. All which irregular activities in the Prieſt and People, were ſheltred under the name of ſetting forward the *Queens proceedings*. And by that name the official of the Arch-Deacon of Ely, gave it in charge amongſt the Articles of his viſitation, that the Church Wardens ſhould preſent all ſuch as did diſturb the *Queen's proceedings*, in letting the Latin Service, ſetting up of Altars, ſaying of Maſſe, &c. But more particularly at Cambridge, the Vicechancellor, challenged one *Pierſon*, on the 3d. of October, for officiating the communion in his own Pariſh Church, in the Engliſh tongue; and on the 26. diſplaced Dr *Madow*, Matter of *Clare Hall*, for being married, though they had both as much authority on their ſide, as the Lawes could give them. In like manner ſome of the Popiſh party in King's College (not tarrying the making of any Law) on the 28th. of the ſame, officiated the Divine Service in the Latin tongue; and on the 6th. of November then next following, a Sermon is preached openly at St Michaels, contrary to the Lawes in that behalf, not as then repealed. Not altogether ſo eager on the ſcent at Oxon, as they were at Cambridge, though with more difficulty brought at firſt to the Reformation. Only it pleaſed Dr *Treſham*, one of the Canons of *Chriſt Church*, of the laſt foundation, to cauſe the great bell there to be new caſt, and chriſtned by the name of *Mary*; much comforting himſelf with the melodious ſound thereof, when it toll'd to Maſſe; which *Marſhal* the new Dean, by his help and counſel, had again reſtored.

But theſe were only the Eſſays of thoſe alterations, which generally were intended in all parts of the Church, alſoon as the times were ripe for them, and the people fitted to receive them; in order wherunto, it was not thought ſufficient to diſplace the Biſhops, and ſilence the Old Proteſtant Preachers alſo, unleſs they brought them under ſome exemplary puniſhment, that others might be terrified from the outward profeſſion of that truth, out of which they could not be diſputed. Of *Ridley's* being brought priſoner to the Tower, and of *Coxe's* committing to the *Marſhalſey*, we have ſpoke before. On the 22d. of Auguſt Letters are ſent from the Lords of the Council, commanding Biſhop *Coverdale*, and Biſhop *Hooper*, to appear before them. By whom (after two or three appearances) committed to their ſeveral Priſons; the one reſerved for the ſtake, the other ſent upon requeſt to the King of Denmark. On the 5th. of September, the like Letters are diſpatched to old Biſhop *Latimer*, committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, on the 8th. day after; followed the next morning by

by Archbishop *Cranmer*; whose Story doth require a more particular account, of which more anon. *Harley* of *Hereford* (to which he had been consecrated in *May* foregoing) and *Taylor* of *Lincoln*, another of the last of King *Edward's* Bishops, were present at the opening of the Parliament on the 10th of *October*. But no sooner was the Mass began (though not then restored by any Law) than they left the Church. For which the Bishop of *Lincoln* being first examined, and making profession of his Faith, prevented the malice of his enemies by a timely death. And *Harley* upon information of his marriage, was presently excluded from the Parliament House, and not long after from his Bishoprick also. Which being observed by Bishop *Barlow* of *Wells*, and *Scory* of *Chichester*, they withdrew themselves beyond the Seas; followed not long after by Bishop *Pointz* of *Winchester*. But *Barlow* made not so much haste, as not to be committed to the Fleet, by the Lords of the Council, from whence upon some satisfaction given to the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*, by his discreet and moderate Answers, he was not long after set at liberty, and so crossed the seas; resolved to trust himself no more to a second hazard, having with so much difficulty escaped the first. How it succeeded with the rest, we shall see hereafter. Upon which smiting of the Shepherds, it is not to be wondered at, if their flocks were scattered.

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Now as concerning the Archbishop, the substance of his story is briefly this. He had been a chief instrument in King *Henry's* time, of setting forward the divorce; and in King *Edward's*, of advancing the Reformation. The Queen conceived hereupon such a high displeasure (it had been malice in another) against the man, that nothing but his death could appease the same. His death is therefore fully resolved upon, by *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and the rest of the Popish Prelates. Of which the first had prosecuted the Divorce as far as any; and the second was as forward as the best in the Reformation, as long as *Cromwel* lived to persevere and countenance him. But their standings out, and sufferings for it in King *Edward's* time, were thought sufficient expiations for their former errors, when the good Offices which *Cranmer* had done for her Fathers time, were worn out of memory. Die, then he must; but by what law he was to die, proved a knot more difficult, than could be speedily untied. It was advised to charge him with High Treason, as being privy to the plot of the Duke of *Northumberland*, for excluding the Queen from the succession. But against this it was objected, that he was the last of the Council who subscribed unto it; and that the Council would be wary of making that a Capital offence in him, of which they were all equally guilty. In the next place it was propounded, to proceed against him in case of Heresie, that being the most likely way to content the Pope, whose favour was to be procured by all means imaginable. But the worst was, that the Statutes made in the time of King *Richard 2d.* and King *Henry 4th.* for putting Hereticks to death, had been abrogated in the time of King *Henry 8th.* as that of the six Articles, more terrible than either of the other two had been, repealed by the late King *Edward* the 6th. No better course therefore, than to find some occasion for laying him up in some safe prison; and when they had him there, to proceed against him as time and opportunity should administer some fit matter for it.

About this time a bruit was raised, that *Cranmer* to ingratiate himself with the Queen, had promised to celebrate the Exequies of the deceased King, according to the *Romish* manner. To clear himself of which reproach, he drew up a Manifest, declaring in the same, that he was ready to maintain the Articles of Religion, set forth by his procurement in the time of King *Edward*, to be consonant to the word of God, the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the practice of the best and purest times. These papers lying in the window in his private chambers, were seen and liked by Bishop *Scory*, by whom they were transcribed and communicated to many others. Coming at last unto the knowledge of the Council, the Archbishop is commanded to appear before them. Interrogated about the papers, and prompted by Bishop *Hesb.* who was then

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amongst them, to let them know whether he were not sorry for it. To which the Archbishop made reply, that as he did not deny himself to be the author of those papers, so he mult needs confesse himself to be sorry that they went from him in such sort as they did. For I had purposed, saith he, to set out the *Manifest* in a more large and ample manner; and to have it set upon St Paul's door, and the doors of all the Churches in London, with my own Seal affixed unto it. Upon which stout and honest answer, they thought fit to dismiss him for the present: it being conceived by some of the more moderate spirits, that it would be punishment enough to deprive him only of his Bishoprick, and to assign him a sufficient maintenance upon the exhibiting of a true Inventory of his whole estate, with a commandment to keep his house without meddling in matters of Religion. But those who better understood the mind of the Queen, so ordered it, that on the 14th. of September, he was sent to the Tower, where he remained prisoner till the 23. of November. At what time he was arraigned in the Guild Hall of London, together with the Lord Guilford Dudley, the late Queen Jane his wife, and others; all of them being attainted and condemned of Treason, as before was said. And he lay under this attainure till the year next following, when the old Statutes for putting Hereticks to death, were revived in Parliament. Which having furnished his adversaries with a better ground to proceed upon, to the contentment of the Pope and the Queen together, they waved the prosecuting of that Attaindure, to an Execution, and wholly fixed themselves on the point of Heresie. At the hearing whereof, he was right well pleased, because the case was not now his own, but Christs; not the Queens, but the Churches.

The severity of this beginning against the Natives, gave a sufficient warning to all such strangers, who had took sanctuary here in the time of King Edward, to provide betimes for their departure. Amongst whom, none more openly aimed at than *Peter Martyr*, because none of them had given wider wounds than he to the Catholick Cause. *Tresham*, a senior Canon of *Christ Church*, had held some points against him at his first coming thither; and now he took the benefit of the times, in causing both that house, and many others in the University, to put some publick scorn upon him. Not finding any safety there, he retires to *Lambeth*, where he was sure of as much safety as that place could give him. A consultation had been held by some of the more fiery spirits, for his commitment unto prison. But he came hither (as it was well known) on the publick Faith, which was not to be violated for the satisfaction of some private persons. It was thought fit therefore to discharge him of all further employment, and to licence him to depart in peace, none being more forward to furnish him with all things necessary for his going hence, than the new Lord Chancellor; whether in honour to his Learning, or out of a desire to send him packing, shall not now be questioned. But less humanity was shewed unto him in his wife, whose body having been buried in the Church of *St Frideswide*, was afterwards by publick order taken out of the grave, and buried in a common dunghill. About the same time also such strangers as were gathered together into the Church of *John Alasco*, not only were necessitated to forbear their meetings, but to dissolve their Congregation, and to quit the Countrey. Such a displeasure was conceived against them, by those which governed the affairs, that it was no small difficulty for them to get leave for their departure; and glad they were to take the opportunity of two Danish ships, and to put themselves to sea in the beginning of winter, fearing more storms in England, than upon the Ocean. And so farwel to *John Alasco*. It was an ill wind which brought him hither, and worse he could not have for his going back. The like haste made the French Protestants also. And that they might have no pretence for a long stay, command was sent unto the Mayor of *Rie* and *Dover*, on the 16th. of September, to suffer all French Protestants to cross the seas, except such only, whose names should be signified unto them by the French Ambassadors. But notwithstanding these removes, many, both Dutch and French, remained

remained still in the Kingdom, some of which being after found in *Wine's* Army, occasioned the banishing of all the rest, except Denizens and Merchants only, by a publick Edict. At which time many of the *English* departed also, as well Students as others, to the number of 300. or thereabouts; hoping to find that freedom and protection in a forein Country, which was denied them in their own. The principal of those which put themselves into this voluntary exile, were, *Kauberine*, the last wife of *Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke*, *Robert Bertie*, Esquire, husband to the Dutchess; the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Wells*, *Sir Richard Morison*, *Sir Anthony Cook*, and *Sir John Cheek*, *Dr Cox*, *Dr Sanays*, and *Dr Grindall*, and divers others, of whom we shall hear more hereafter on another occasion.

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Of all these things, they neither were, nor could be ignorant in the Court of *Rome*, to which the death of *Edward* had been swiftly posted on the wings of fame. The newes of the succession of *Queen Mary*, staid not long behind; so much more welcome to *Pope Julius 3d.* who then held that See, because it gave him some assurance of his re-admission into the power and jurisdiction of his predecessors in the Realm of *England*. For what less was to be expected, considering that she was brought up in the Catholick Religion, interested in the respects of her mother, and Cosen in the first degree unto *Charles* the Emperour? In the pursuance of which hopes, it was resolved that *Cardinal Pole* should be sent Legate into *England*, who being of the Royal blood, a man of eminent learning, and exemplary life, was looked on as the fittest instrument to reduce that Kingdome. The Cardinal well knowing that he stood attained by the Lawes of the Land, and that the name of *Henry* was still preserved in estimation amongst the people; thought it not safe to venture thither, before he fully understood the state of things. He therefore secretly dispatcheth *Commendonius*, a right trusty Minister, by whom he writes a private Letter to the Queen. In which commending first her perseverance in Religion in the time of her troubles, he exhorteth her to a continuance in it in the days of her happiness. He recommended also to her, the salvation of the souls of her people, and the reititucion of the true worship of God. *Commendonius*, having diligently inform'd himself of all particulars, found means of speaking with the Queen. By whom he understood not only her own good affections to the See Apostolick; but that she was resolved to use her best endeavours for re-establishing the Religion of the Church of *Rome* in all her Kingdomes. Which being made known unto the Cardinal, he puts himself into the voyage. The newes whereof being brought to *Charles* (who had his own design apart from that of the Pope) he signified by *Dandino*, the Pope's *Nuncio* with him; that an Apostolick Legate could not be sent into *England* as affairs then stood, either with safety to himself, or honour to the Church of *Rome*; and therefore that he might do well to defer the journey, till the English might be brought to a better temper.

But the Queen knowing nothing of this stop, and being full of expectation of the Cardinals coming, had called a Parliament to begin on the 10th, of *October*. In which she made it her first Act, to take away all Statutes passed by the two last Kings, wherein certain offences had been made High Treason, and others brought within the compass of a *Premunire*. And this she did, especially for *Pole's* security, that neither he by exercising his Authority, nor the Clergy by submitting to it, might be intangled in the like snares, in which *Cardinal Wolfe*, and the whole Clergy of his time had before been caught. It was designed also to rescind all former Statutes which had been made by the said two Kings against the jurisdiction of the Pope, the Doctrine and Religion of the Church of *Rome*, and to reduce all matters Ecclesiastical to the same estate, in which they stood in the beginning of the Reign of the King her Father. But this was looked upon by others as too great an enterprize to be attempted by a woman, especially in a green estate, and amongst people sensible of those many benefits, which they enjoyed by shaking off their former vassalage to a forein power.

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power. It was advised therefore to proceed no further at the present, than to repeal all Acts and Statutes which had been made in derogation to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* in the time of her brother; which being passed in his minority, when all affairs were carried by faction and strong hand, contrary to the judgement of the best and soundest part of the Clergy and Laity, might give a just pretence for their abrogation, till all particulars might be considered and debated in a lawful Synod. According to which temperment, the point was carried, and the Act pass'd no higher than for *Repealing certain Statutes of the time of King Edward*; by which one blow the felled down all which had been done in the Reformation in seven years before.

For by this Act, they took away all former Statutes for Administering the Communion in both kinds; for establishing the first and second Liturgie; for confirming the new *Ordinal*, or form of consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, &c. for abrogating certain Fasts and Feastivals which had been formerly observed; for authorizing the marriage of Priests, and Legitimation of their children; nor to say any thing of that Statute (as not worth the naming) for making Bishops by the King's Letters Patents, and exercising their Episcopal jurisdiction in the King's name only. So that upon the matter, not only all things were reduced to the same estate in which they stood at *Edward's* coming to the Crown, but all these Bishops and Priests which had married by authority of the former Statutes, were made uncanonical, and consequently obnoxious to a deprivation. So that for want of Canonical Ordination on the one side, and under colour of uncanonical Mariages on the other, we shall presently find such a general remove amongst the Bishops and Clergy, as is not any where to be parallel'd in so short a time. And because some affronts had been lately offered to such Priests as had been forward in setting up the Mass in their several Churches, and that no small danger was incurred by *Dr Bourn* above mentioned, for a Sermon preached at *St Paul's Cross*; an Act was pass'd for the preventing of the like for the time to come, Entituled *An Act against offenders of Preachers, and other Ministers, in the Church*. Which two Acts were no sooner pass'd, but they were seconded by the Queen with two Proclamations on the 5th. of *December*. By one of which it was declared, That all Statutes made in the time of the late King *Edward*, which concerned Religion, were repealed by Parliament; and therefore that the Mass should be said as formerly, to begin on the 20th of that month: And by the other it was commanded, that no manner of person from thenceforth, should dare to disturb the Priests in saying Mass, or executing any other divine Office, under the pains and penalties therein contained. According unto which appointment, the Mass was publickly officiated in all parts of the Kingdome, and so continued during the Reign of this Queen, without interruption.

There also pass'd another Act, wherein it was Enacted, That the marriage between King *Henry* the 8th. and Queen *Katherine* his first wife, should be definitively, clearly, and absolutely declared, deemed, adjudged to be, and stand with God's Laws, and his most Holy word, and to be accepted, repured and taken of good effect and validity to all intents and purposes whatsoever; that the Decree or Sentence of Divorce heretofore pass'd between the said King *Henry* the 8th, and the said Queen, by *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, should be deemed, taken, and reputed to be void and null; with a repeal of all such Statutes or Acts of Parliament, in which the Queen had been declared to be illegitimate. The making of which Act, as it did much conduce to the establishment of the Queen's estate; so did it tacitly and implicitly acknowledge the supremacy to be in the Pope of *Rome*, which could not be attained explicitly and in terms expresse, as affairs then stood. For since the marriage neither was nor could be reputed valid, but by the dispensation of Pope *Julius* the 2d. the declaration of the goodness and validity of it, did consequently infer the Popes authority, from which that dispensation issued. And therefore it was well observed by the Author of the *History* of the Council of *Trent*, that it seemed

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seemed ridiculous in the English Nobility, to oppose the restitution of the Popes supremacy, when it was propounded to them by the Queen in the following Session; considering that the yielding to this demand was virtually contained in their assent to the Marriage. There also past another Act, in which there was a clause for the invalidating of all such Commissions, as had been granted in the time of the late Queen Jane; and one in confirmation of the attainders of the late Duke of Northumberland, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. Which shews, that there was somewhat in the said proceedings not so clear in Law, but that there seem'd a necessity of calling in the Legislative power to confirm the same, for the indemnity of those who had acted in them. Together with this Parliament, the Queen was pleased to summon a Convocation, to the end that all matters of Religion might be first debated and concluded in a Synodical way, before they were offered to the consideration of the other Assembly. In the writs of which summons, she retained the Title of Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, &c. the want whereof in those of the present Parliament, occasioned a dispute amongst some of the members; Whether they might lawfully proceed or not, in such publick businesses as were to be propounded to them in that Session. Archbishop Crammer had been before imprisoned in the Tower of London, and was detained there all the time of this Convocation, so that he could not do that service to God and the Church, which his place required. This took for a sufficient ground to transfer the Presidentship of the Convocation upon Bonner of London, privileged in respect of his See, to preside in all such Provincial Synods, which were either held during the vacancy of the See of Canterbury, or in the necessary absence of the Metropolitan. The lower house of the Clergy also, was fitted with a Prolocutor, of the same affections, Dr Hugh Weston, then newly substituted Dean of Westminster in the place of Cox, being elected to that Office. On Wednesday the 18th. of October, it was signified by the Prolocutor, that it was the Queens pleasure, that they of the House should debate of matters of Religion, and proceed to the making of such constitutions as should be found necessary in that case. But there was no equality in number between the parties, and reason was of no authority where the major part had formerly resolved upon the points. So partially had the elections been returned from the several Diocesses, that we find none of King Edward's Clergy amongst the Clerks; and such an alteration had been made in the Deans and Dignitaries, that we find but six of that rank neither to have suffrage in it, that is to say, James Haddon Dean of Exeter, Walter Philips Dean of Rochester, John Philips Arch Deacon of Winchester, John Elmer Arch Deacon of Stow, in the Diocess of Lincoln, Richard Cheney Arch Deacon of Hereford. One more I find, but without any name, in the Acts and Mon. who joined himself to the other five in the disputation. Nor would the Prolocutor admit of more, though earnestly desired by Philips, that some of the Divines which had the passing of the Book of Articles in King Edward's time, might be associated with them in the defence thereof.

Which motion he there rather made, because one of the points proposed by the Prolocutor, related to a Catechism set forth in the said Kings time, instituted to the said Convocation in the year 1552. Of which it was to be enquired, whether or no it was the work of that Convocation. But that matter being passed lightly over, the main point in debate concerned the manner of Christs presence in the blessed Sacrament. It was not denied by Philips, and the rest of the Protestant party, that Christ was present in his Sacrament, rightly ministered according to his institution, but only that he was not present after the gross and carnal manner, which they of the Popish party had before subscribed to. Six days the disputation lasted, but to little purpose; for on the one side it was said by Weston and his associates, that their adversaries were sufficiently confuted, and all their Arguments fully answered. And on the other side it was affirmed by the Divines of King Edward's time, that

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neither any satisfaction had been given to their Arguments, nor that any right judgement could be made in the points disputed, where the adverse party late as Judges in their own concerns. Many checks had been given by *Weston* to the six Divines, but especially to the Arch-Deacon of *Winchester*; and there was much disorder otherwise in the disputation (though certain great Lords were present at it) which hindered it from producing any good effect. So that being weary at the last of their own consultations, it was thought fit to put an end to the dispute. Which *Weston* did accordingly in these following words. It is not (saith he) the Queens pleasure that we should spend any longer time in these debates, and ye are well enough already, *For you (saith he) have the Word, and we have the Sword.* So powerful is the truth, that many times it will find some means to vent it self, when we least intend it, and sometimes also when we most labour to suppress it.

The Parliament and Convocation had thus concluded on the point, and little question would be made, but that such Bishops as disliked the alterations in the time of King *Edward*, will be sufficiently active in advancing the results of both. But *Bonner* will not stay so long; he is resolved to go along with the Parliament, if not before it. For after the ending of the Even song on *St Katherine's* day, before the consultations of the Parliament had been confirmed by the Royal assent, he caused the Quire of *St Paul's* to go about the steeple, singing with lights after the old custome. And on *St Andrew's* day next following, he began the Procession in Larine, himself, with many Parsons and Curates, and the whole Quire, together with the Lord Mayor, and divers of the Aldermen, the Prebends of the Church attired in their old *gray Amises* (as they used to call them) in which manner they continued it for three dayes after. In setting up the Mass, with all the Poms and Rites thereof at the time appointed, it is not to be thought that he could be backward, who shewed himself so forward in the rest of his actions. And therefore it can be no news to hear that on the 14th. of *January*, he restored the solemn *Sundays-Procession* about the Church, with the Mayor and Aldermen in their Clokes; the Preacher taking his benediction in the midst of the Church, according to the ancient custome; or that he should send out his Mandates to all Parsons and Curates within his Diocess, for taking the names of all such as would not come the Lent following to Auricular confession, and receive at *Easter*; or finally, that he should issue out the like commands to all Priests and Curates, which lived within the compass of his jurisdiction, for the abolishing of such Paintings and Sentences of holy Scripture, as had been pensiled on the Church walls, in King *Edward's* dayes. He knew full well, that as the actions of the Mother Church would easily become exemplary to the rest of the City, so the proceedings of that City, and the parts about it, would in time give the law to the rest of the Kingdom; and that there was no speedier way to advance a general conformity over all the Kingdom, than to take beginning at the head, from whence both sense and motion is derived to the rest of the body. Which makes it seem the greater wonder, that he should be so backward in advancing Images (if at the least his actions in that kind have not been misplaced) as not to go about it till the year next following; unless it were that he began to be so wise as to stay until the Queen's affairs were better settled. But no sooner was her marriage past, when we find him at it. For having by that time prepared a fair and large Image of our Saviour, which they called the *Rood*, he caused it to be laid along upon the pavement of *St Paul's* Quire, and all the doors of the Church to be kept close shut, whilst he together with the Prebends, sung and said divers prayers by it. Which done, they anointed it with oyl in divers places, and after the anointing of it, crept unto it, and kissed it, and after weighed it up, and set it in its accustomed place; the whole quite in the mean time singing *Te Deum*, and the bells publishing their joy at the end of the Pageant. After which a command is given to *Dr Story* (who was then Chancellor of his Diocess, and afterwards a most active instrument in all

all his butcheries) to visit every Parish Church in *London* and *Middlesex*, to see their *Road* *lofts* repaired, and the Images of the Crucifix with *Mary* and *John* to be placed on them. *An. Reg. Mar. 1.*

But it is time that we return to the former Parliament; during the sitting whereof, the Queen had been desired to marry, and three husbands had been nominated of several qualities, that she might please herself in the choice of one. That is to say, *Edward Lord Courteney*, whom she had lately restored to the Title of Earl of *Devon*. *Reginald Pole*, a Cardinal of the Church of *Rome*, descended from *George Duke of Clarence*; and *Philip* the eldest son of *Charles* the Emperour. It is affirmed, that she had carried some good affections to the Earl of *Devonshire*, ever since she first saw him in the Tower, as being of a lovely personage and Royal extraction, the Grandson of a Daughter of King *Edward* the 4th. But he being founded afar off, had declined the matter. Concerning which there goes a story, that the young Earl petitioning her for leave to travel, she advised him to marry and stay at home, assuring him that no Lady in the land how high soever, would refuse to accept him for a husband. By which words though she pointed out her self unto him, as plainly as might either stand with the Modesty or Majesty of a Maiden Queen; Yet the young Gentleman not daring to look so high as a Crown, or being better affected to the person of the Princess *Elizabeth*, desired the Queen to give him leave to marry her sister. Which gave the Queen so much displeasure, that she looked with an evil eye upon them both for ever after; upon the Earl for not accepting that love which she seemed to offer, and on her sister as her Rival in the Earls affections. It was supposed also, that she might have some inclinations to Cardinal *Pole*, as having been brought up with him in the house of his Mother, the late Countess of *Salisbury*. But against him it was objected, that he began to grow in years, and was so given unto his book, that he seemed fitter for a Coul than to wear a Crown; that he had few dependances at home, and fewer alliances abroad; and that the Queen's affairs did require a man both stout and active, well back'd with friends, and able at all points to carry on the great concerns of the Kingdom. And then what fitter husband could be found out for her, than *Philip* Prince of *Spain*? A Prince in the verdure of his years, and eldest son to the most Mighty Emperour, *Charles* the 5th, by whom the *Netherlands* being laid to *England*, and both secured by the assistance and power of *Spain*, this nation might be render'd more considerable both by sea and land, than any people in the world.

To this last Match the Queen was carefully solicited by the Bishop of *Winchester*, who neither loved the person of *Pole*, nor desired his company, for fear of growing less in power and reputation, by coming under the command of a Cardinal Legate. To which end he encouraged *Charles* the Emperour to go on with this marriage for his son; not without some secret intimation of his Advice, for not suffering *Pole* to come into *England* (if he were suffered to come at all) till the Treaty were concluded, and the Match agreed on. According whereunto, the Lord *Lamoralle* Earl of *Edmond*, *Charles* Earl of *Lalain*, and *John d' Mount Morency*, Earl of *Horn*, arrived in *England* as Ambassadors from the Emperour. In the beginning of *January* they began to treat upon the marriage, which they found so well prepared before their coming, that in short time it was accorded upon these conditions. "1. That it should be lawful for *Philip* to assume the Title of all the Kingdoms and Provinces belonging to his wife, and should be joint Governour with her over those Kingdoms; the Privileges and Customes thereof alwayes preserved inviolate, and the full and free distribution of Bishopricks, Benefices, Favours and Offices, alwayes remaining intire in the Queen. 2. That the Queen should also carry the Titles of all those Realms, into which *Philip* either then was, or should be afterwards invested. 3. That if the Queen survived *Philip*, 60 thousand pounds per annum should be assigned to her for her joynture, as had been formerly assigned to the Lady *Margaret*, Sister to

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" King Edward the 4th. and Wife to Charles Duke of Burgundy. 4. That the Issue begotten by this marriage, should succeed in all the Queens Dominions, as also in the Dukedom and County of Burgundy, and all those Provinces in the Neighbourlands, of which the Emperour was possessed. 5. That if none but daughters should proceed from this marriage, the eldest should succeed in all the said Provinces of the Neighbourlands, provided that by the Counsel and consent of Charles (the son of Philip, by Mary of Portugal his first wife) she should make choice of a husband out of England or the Neighbourlands, or otherwise to be deprived of her right in the succession in the said estates, and Charles to be invited in them; and in that case convenient portions to be made for her and the rest of the daughters. 6. And finally, That if the said Charles should depart this life without lawful issue, that then the Heir surviving of this marriage, though female only, should succeed in all the Kingdoms of Spain, together with all the Dominions and Estates of Italy thereunto belonging. Conditions fair and large enough, and more to the advantage of the Realm of England, than the Crown of Spain.

But so it was not understood by the generality of the people of England, many of which out of a restless disposition, or otherwise desirous to restore the reformed Religion, had caused it to be noised abroad, that the Spaniards were by this accord, to become the absolute Lords of all the Kingdom; that they were to have the managing of all affairs; and that abolishing all the ancient Laws of the Realm, they would impose upon the land a most intolerable yoke of servitude, as a conquered Nation. Which either being certainly known, or probably suspected by the Queen and the Council, it was thought fit that the Lord Chancellor should make a true and perfect declaration of all the points of the Agreement, not only in the Presence Chamber to such Lords and Gentlemen as were at that time about the Court and the City of London; but also to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and certain of the chief Commoners of that City, purposely sent for to the Court upon that occasion: Which services he performed on the 14th. and 15th. days of January. And having summarily reported all the Articles of the capitulation, he shewed unto them how much they were bound to thank God, That such a Noble, Worthy, and Famous Prince, would vouchsafe so to humble himself, as in this marriage to take upon him rather as a subject than otherwise. Considering that the Queen and her Council were to Rule and Govern all things as they did before; and that none of the Spaniards or other strangers, were to be of the Council, nor to have the custody of any Castles, Forts, &c. nor to have any office in the Queen's house, or elsewhere throughout the Kingdom. In which respect it was the Queens request to the Lords and Gentlemen, That for her sake they would most lovingly receive the said Prince with joy and honour; and to the Lord Mayor and the Citizens, That they would behave themselves to be good subjects with all humility and rejoicing.

Which declaration notwithstanding, the subjects were not easily satisfied in those fears and jealousies, which cunningly had been infused into them by some popular spirits, who greedily affected a change of Government; and to that end sowed divers other discontents amongst the people. To some they secretly complained, " That the Queen had broke her promise to the Suffolk men, in suppressing the Religion settled by King Edward the 6th. to others, " That the marriage with the Prince of Spain, was but the introduction to a second vassalage to the Popes of Rome; sometimes they pined the calamity of the Lady Jane, not only forcibly deposed, but barbarously condemned to a cruel death; and sometimes magnified the eminent virtues of the Princess Elizabeth, as the only blessing of the Kingdom; and by those Articles, prepared the people in moist places for the act of Rebellion. And that it might succeed the better, nothing must be pretended but the preservation and defence of their Civil Liberties, which they knew was generally like to take both with Papists and Protestants; but so that they had many engines to draw such others to the side, as either were considerable for power or quality. The Duke

Duke of *Suffolk* was hooked in, upon the promise of re-establiſhing his daughter in the Royal throne; the *Carews*, and other Gentlemen of *Devonſhire*, upon aſſurance of marrying the Lord *Courteney* to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and ſetting the Crown upon their heads; and all they that wiſhed well to the Reformation, upon the like hopes of reſtoring that Religion which had been ſetled by the care and piety of the good King *Edward*, but now ſuppreſſed, contrary to all faith and promiſe, by the Queen and her Miniſters. By means of which ſuggeſtions and ſubtil practices, the contagion was ſo generally diffuſed over all the Kingdom, that if it had not accidentally broke out before the time appointed by them, it was conceived by many wiſe and knowing men, that the danger might have proved far greater, the diſeaſe incurable.

For ſo it hapned, that the *Carews* conceiving that the deſerring of the execution of the plot thus laid, might prove deſtructive to that cauſe, or otherwiſe fatally thruſt on by their own ill deſtiny, began to leavy men in *Cornwall*, which could not be ſo cloſely carried, but that their purpoſe was diſcovered, and the chief of them forced to flye the Kingdom. The news whereof gave ſuch an allarm to the confederates, that they ſhewed themſelves in ſeveral places before the people were prepared and made ready for them. Inſomuch, that the Duke of *Suffolk*, together with the Lord *Thomas Gray*, and the Lord *Leonard Gray*, having made Proclamation in divers places on the 25th. of that month, againſt the Queens intended marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, and finding that the people came not in ſo faſt unto them as they did expect, were forced to diſmiſs their ſlender company, and ſhift for themſelves, upon the firſt news that the Earl of *Huntington* was coming toward them with 300 horſe. An action very unfortunate to himſelf and to all his family. For firſt, The Queen finding that ſhe was to expect no peace or quiet as long as the Lady *Jane* was ſuffered to remain alive, cauſed her and the Lord *Guiſford Dudley*, to be openly executed on the 12th. of *February* then next following. His daughter *Katherine* formerly married to *Henry* Lord *Herbert*, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Pembrook*, (but the marriage by reaſon of her tender years, not coming unto a conſummation by carnal knowlege) was by him repudiated and caſt off, and a marriage preſently made betwixt him and another *Katherine*, a daughter of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*. His brothers, *John* and *Thomas*, committed priſoners to the Tower: of which two, *Thomas* ſuffered death about two months after. And for himſelf, being compelled to hide his head in the houſe of one *Kinderwood*, whom he had preferred unto the keeping of one of his Parks, he was by him moſt baſely and treacherouſly betrayed to the ſaid Earl of *Huntington*, on the 12th. of *February*. Attained on the 17th. of the ſame month, and beheaded on the 23d.

Nor ſared it better with the reſt, though they of *Kent*, conducted by Sir *Thomas Wiat* (the chief contriver of the plot) were ſuddenly grown conſiderable for their number, and quickly formidable for their power. The newes of whoſe riſing being (wiſtly poſted to the Court, the Duke of *Norfolk* was appointed to go againſt him, attended with few more than the Queens ordinary Guards, and followed by 500 *Londoners* newly raiſed, and ſent by water to *Graves* End, under the charge of Captain *Alexander Bret*. With which few forces he intended to aſſault the Rebels, who had put themſelves into *Rocheſter* Caſtle, and fortified the bridge with ſome pieces of Canon. But being ready to fall on, *Bret* with his *Londoners* fell off to *Wiat*, and ſo neceſſitated the old Duke to return to *London* in great haſte, accompanied by the Earl of *Arundel* and Sir *Henry Gerningham*, with ſome few of their horſe, leaving their foot, eight pieces of Canon, and all their ammunition belonging to them, in the power of the enemy. This brings the Queen to the Guild Hall in *London*, on the firſt of *February*, where ſhe finds the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and many of the chief Citizens in their ſeveral Liveries. To whom ſhe ſigned, "That ſhe never did intend to marry, but on ſuch conditions, as in the judgement of her Council ſhould be found honourable to the Realm, and profitable

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“ble to her subjects; that therefore they should give no credit to those many
 “calumnies, which *Wiat* and his accomplices, who according to the guise of
 “Rebels, had purposely dispersed to defame both her and her government; but
 “rather that they should contribute their best assistance for the suppressing of
 “those, who contrary to their duty, were in arms against her. And though he
 had as good as the brought, that is to say, fair promises for her gracious words;
 yet understanding that many in the City held intelligence with the Kentish
 Rebels, he appointed the Lord *William Howard* (whom afterwards the created
 Lord *Howard of Effingham*) to be Lieutenant of the City, and *Pembroke*
 General of the field. The event shewed that she followed that Counsel which
 proved best for her preservation. For had she trusted to the City, she had been
 betrayed.

Incouraged with his success, and confident of a strong party amongst the
Londners, on the 3d. day of *February*, he entred *Southwark*, where he and his
 were finely feasted by the people. But when he hoped to have found the way
 open to the rest of the City, he found the draw-Bridge to be cut down, the
 bridge-Gate to be shut, and the Ordinance of the Tower to be bent against him,
 by the appointment and direction of the Lord Lieutenant. Two dayes he tri-
 fled out in *Southwark* to no purpose at all, more than the sacking of *Winchester*
 House, and the defacing of the Bishops Library there, unless it were to leave
 a document to posterity, that God insinuates the Counsels of those wretched
 men, who traiterously rake up arms against their Princes. And having liberally
 bestowed these two dayes upon the Queen, the better to enable her to provide
 for her safety, he wheels about on Sunday the 6th. of the same month to *King-*
ston bridge. And though the bridge was broken down before his coming, and
 that the opposite shore was guarded by 200. men, yet did he use such diligence,
 that he removed away those forces, repaired the bridge, past over both his men
 and Canon, and might in probability have surprised both the Court and City
 in the dead of the night, if the same spirit of insaturation had not rested on him.
 For having marched beyond *Brainford* in the way towards *London*, without gi-
 ving or taking the allarum, it hapned that one of his great pieces was dis-
 mounted by the breach of its wheels. In the mending and mounting whereof, he
 obstinately wasted so much time, notwithstanding all the persuasions which his
 friends could make unto him, that many of his men slipped from him, and some
 gave notice to the Court, not only of his near approach, but also what his pur-
 pose was, and what had hindered him from putting it in execution. On this Ad-
 vertisement the Earl of *Pembroke* arms, and draws out his men to attend the mo-
 tion of the Rebels, who about 10 of the clock came to *Chearing Cross*, and with-
 out falling on the Court, (which was then in a very great amazement) turn
 up the *Sirend* to *Temple Bar*, and so toward *Ludgate*, the Earl of *Pembroke* fol-
 lowing and cutting him off in the arreir upon every turn. Coming to *London*,
 (when it was too late for his intendments) he found the Gates fast shut against
 him, and the Lord *William Howard* in as great a readiness to oppose him there, as
 when he was before in *Southwark*. So that being hemmed in on both sides with-
 out hope of relief, he yields himself to Sir *Morris Berkeley*, is carried prisoner to
 the Court, from thence committed to the Tower, arraigned at *Westminster* on
 the 15th. of *March*, and executed on the 11th. of *April*, having first heard,
 that no fewer than 50 of his accomplices were hanged in *London*, and *Bret*,
 with 22 more in several places of *Kent*.

It can not be denied but that the restitution of the Reformed Religion,
 was the matter principally aimed at in this Rebellion, though nothing but the
 Match with *Spain* appeared on the outside of it. Which appears plainly by a
 Book writ by *Christopher Goodman* (associated with *John Knox*, for setting up
 Presbytery and Rebellion in the Kirk of *Scotland*) in which he takes upon him
 to shew how far *Superiour Magistrates* ought to be obeyed. For having filled al-
 most every Chapter of it with railing speeches against the Queen, and stirring up
 the people to rebel against her, he falleth amongst the rest upon this expression,

viz.

viz. "What did but his duty, and it was but the duty of all others that profess the Gospel, to have risen with him for maintenance of the same. His cause was just, and they were all Traytors that took not part with him. Noble What thou art now with God, and those worthy men that dyed in that happy enterprise. But this Book was written at Geneva, where Calvin reigned. To whom no pamphlet could be more agreeable, than such as did reproach this Queen; whom in his Comment upon *Amos*, he entituleth by the name of *Persephone*, and saith, that she exceeded in her cruelties all the devils in hell. Much more it is to be admired, that Dr. John Prynne, the late Bishop of Winchester, should be of Counsel in the plot, or put himself into their Camp, and attend them unto the place where the carriage brake. Where when he could not work on *Win* to desist from that unprofitable labour in remounting the Cannon, he counselled *Vauban*, *Bret*, and others, to shif for themselves, took leave of his more secret friends, told them that he would pray for their good success, and so departed and took ship for Germany, where he after died.

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The fortunate suppressing of these insurrections, secured the Queen from any fear of the like dangers for the present. And thereupon it was advised to make use of the opportunity for putting the Church into a posture, when the spirits of the opposite party were so crush'd and broken, that no resistance could be looked for. Articles therefore are sent into every Diocese, and letters writ unto the several and Respective Bishops, on the 3d. of March, to see them carefully and speedily put in execution. The Tenour of which Articles were as followeth.

1. That every Bishop and his Officers, with all other having Ecclesiastical jurisdiction shall with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in execution all such Canons and Ecclesiastical Lawes, heretofore in the time of King Henry the 8th. used within this Rea'm of England, and the Dominions of the same, not being directly and expressly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

2. That no Bishop, or any his Officer, or other person, hereafter in any of their Ecclesiastical writings, in processe, or other extra-judicial acts, do use or put in this clause or Sentence, Regia Autoritate fulcitur.

3. That no Bishop, nor any his Officers, or other person, do hereafter exact or demand in the admission of any person to any Ecclesiastical Promotion, Order or Office, any Oath touching the primacy or succession, as of late few years past hath been accustomed and used.

4. That every Bishop and his Officers, with all other persons, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any Ecclesiastical function, Benefice, or Office, being a Sacramentary, infelld or defamed with any notable kind of Heresie, or other great crime; and that the said Bishop do stay, and cause to be staid, as much as lyeth in him, that Benefices and Ecclesiastical promotions, do not notably decay or take hinderance, by passing or confirming of unreasonable Leases.

5. That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travail for the repressing of Heresies and notable crimes, especially in the Clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

6. That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do likewise travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful Books, Ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred and discord amongst the people. And that Schoolmasters, Teachers, and Preachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties, without Teaching, Preaching, or setting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the Bishop and his said Officers, punished and removed.

7. That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may, and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and remove according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their Benefices and Ecclesiastical

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Ecclesiastical promotions, who contrary to the state of their Order, and the laudable customs of the Church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and scandalously disordered or abused themselves, sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said Benefices and Ecclesiastical promotions.

8. That the said Bishop and other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be dead, than with others whose women do yet remain alive. And likewise such Priests as with the consent of their wives or women, openly in the presence of the Bishop, do profess to abstain, to be used more favourable. In which case, after the Penance effectually done, the Bishop according to his discretion and wisdom, may upon just consideration, receive and admit them again to their former administrations, so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their Benefice, whereof they be deprived, by the discretion of the said Bishop or his Officer, as he shall think may be spared of the same Benefice.

9. That every Bishop and other person aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman, or wife, but that all such persons after deprivation of their Benefice, or Ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

10. Item, That every Bishop and all other persons aforesaid, do take Order and direction with the Parishioners of every Benefice where Priests do want, to repair to the next Parish for divine Service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one Curate to serve alienis vicibus, in divers Parishes, and to allot the said Curate for his labour, some part of the Benefice which he so serveth.

11. That all, and all manner of Processions in the Church, be used frequently, and continued after the old Order of the Church, in the Latin tongue.

12. That all such holy-days and fasting-days be observed and kept, as were observed and kept in the latter time of King Henry the 8th.

13. That the laudable and honest Ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented and observed in the Church, be hereafter frequented, used and observed; and that children be Christened by the Priest, and confirmed by the Bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

14. Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new sort and fashion of Orders, considering they were not Ordered in very deed, the Bishop of the Diocese finding otherwise sufficient ability in these men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, then according to his discretion admit them to minister.

15. That by the Bishop of the Diocese, an uniform doctrine be set forth by Homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people. And that the said Bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several Churches, and there devoutly to hear divine Service, as of reason they ought.

16. That they examine all Schoolmasters and Teachers of children, and finding them suspect in any wise, to remove them, and place Catholick men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the Priest at the Masse, and so help the Priest at Masse, as hath been accustomed.

17. That the said Bishops, and all other the persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting forth of the premises, with all kind of verine, godly living, and good example, with repressing also, or keeping under vice and unchristianess, as they and every of them, may be seen to favour the reformation of true Religion, and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, Our good contentation, and profit of this Our Realm, and the Dominions of the same.

The generality of the people not being well pleased before with the Queen's proceedings,

proceedings, were startled more than ever at the noise of these Articles; none more exasperated than those whose either hands or hearts had been joyned with *Wiat.* But not being able to prevail by open army, a new device is found out to befoole the people, and bring them to a misconceit of the present government. A young maid called *Elizabeth Crofts*, about the age of eighteen years, was tutored to counterfeit certain speeches in the wall of a house not far from *Aldersgate*, where she was heard of many, but seen of none, and that her voice might be conceived to have somewhat in it more than ordinary, a strange whistle was devised for her, out of which her words proceeded in such a tone, as seemed to have nothing mortal in it. And thereupon it was affirmed by some of the people (great multitudes whereof resorted dayly to the place) that it was an Angel, or at least a voice from Heaven, by others, that it could be nothing but the Holy Ghost; but generally she pass'd by the name of the *Spirit in the wall*. For the interpreting of whose words, there wanted not some of the confederates, who mingled themselves by turns amongst the rest of the people, and taking on them to expound what the Spirit said, delivered many dangerous and seditious words against the Queen, her marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, the Mass, Confession, and the like. The practice was first set on foot on the 14th. of *March*, which was within ten days after the publishing of the Articles, and for a while it went on fortunately enough, according to the purpose of the chief contrivers. But the abuse being searched into, and the plot discovered, the wench was ordered to stand upon a scaffold neer *St Paul's Cross*, on the 15th. of *July*, there to abide during the time of the Sermon, and that being done, to make a publick declaration of that lewd imposture. Let not the Papists befrom henceforth charged with *Elizabeth Barton* whom they called the Holy made of *Kent*; since now the *Zuinglian Gospellers*, (for I cannot but consider this as a plot of theirs) have raised up their *Elizabeth Crofts*, whom they called the Spirit in the wall, to draw aside the people from their due Allegiance.

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Wiat's Rebellion being quenched, and the Realm in a condition capable of holding a Parliament, the Queen Convenes her Lords and Commons on the 2d. of *April*, in which Session the Queens marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, being offered unto consideration, was finally concluded and agreed unto upon these conditions, that is to say, "That *Philip* should not advance any to any publick office or dignity in *England*, but such as were Natives of the Realm, and the Queens subjects. That he should admit of a set number of *English* in his household, whom he should use respectfully, and not suffer them to be injured by foreigners. That he should not transport the Queen out of *England*, but at her intreaty, nor any of the issue begotten by her, who should have their education in this Realm, and should not be suffered but upon necessity and good reasons, to go out of the same, nor then neither but with the consent of the *English*. That the Queen deceasing without children, *Philip* should not make any claim to the Kingdom, but should leave it freely to him to whom of right it should belong. That he should not change any thing in the Lawes, either publick or private, nor the immunities and customs of the Realm, but should be bound by oath to confirm and keep them. That he should not transport any Jewels, nor any part of the War-drobe, nor alienate any of the revenues of the Crown. That he should preserve our Shipping, Ordnance and Munition, and keep the Castles, Forts, and Block Houses, in good repair, and well manned. Lastly, That this Match should not any way derogate from the League lately concluded between the Queen, and the King of *France*, but that the peace between the *English* and the *French* should remain firm and inviolate.

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For the clearer carrying on this great business, and to encourage them for the performance of such further services as her occasions might require; the Queen was pleased to increase the number of her Barons. In pursuance whereof, she advanced the Lord *William Howard*, Cosen German to *Thomas Duke*

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Duke of *Norfolk*, to the Title of Lord *Howard of Effingham*, on the 11th. of *March*, and elected him into the Order of the Garter within few months after; whose son called *Charles*, being Lord Admiral of *England*, and of no small renown for his success at the Isle of *Gader*, was by Queen *Elizabeth* created Earl of *Nottingham*, Anno 1589. Next to him followed Sir *John Williams*, created Lord *Williams of Tame* on the 5th. of *April*; who dying without Issue Male, left his Estate (though not his Honors) betwixt two daughters; the eldest of whom, called *Margaret*, was married to Sir *Henry Norris*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* created Lord *Norris* of *Ricot*, in reference perhaps to his fathers suffering in the cause of her mother; from whom descended *Francis* Lord *Norris*, advanced by King *James* to the Honors of Viscount *Tame*, and Earl of *Beikshire*, by Letters Patens bearing date in *January*, Anno 1620. After him on the 7th. of *April*, comes Sir *Edward North*, created Baron of *Charleleg*, in the County of *Cambridge*, who having been Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations in the time of King *Henry*, and raised himself a fair Estate by the fall of Abbeys, was by the King made one of his Executors, and nominated to be one of the great Council of Estate in his Son's Minority. Sir *John Bruggis* brings up the rear, who being descended from Sir *John Chandois*, a right noble Banneret, and from the *Bonsellers* Lords of *Sudley*, was made Lord *Chandois* of *Sudley* on the 8th. of *April*, which goodly Mannor he had lately purchased of the Crown, to which it was Escheated on the death of Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Anno 1549. the Title still enjoyed, though but little else, by the seventh Lord of this Name and Family; most of the Lands being dismembered from the House by the unparallel'd Impudence (to give it no worse name) of his elder brother.

Some Bishops I find consecrated about this time also, to make the stronger party for the Queen in the House of Peers; no more Sees actually voided at that time to make Room for others, though many in a fair way to it, of which more hereafter. *Hooper* of *Glocester* commanded to attend the Lords of the Council on the 22 of *August*, and committed prisoner not long after, was outed of his Bishoprick immediately on the ending of the Parliament, in which all Consecrations were declared to be void and null, which had been made according to the Ordinal of King *Edward* the 6th. Into whose place succeeded *James Brooks* Doctor in Divinity, sometimes Fellow of *Corpus Christi*, and Master of *Bristol* Colledge in *Oxon*; employed not long after as a Delegat from the Pope of *Rome* in the proceedings against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom he condemned to the stake. To *Taylor* (of whose death we have spoken before) succeeded Doctor *John White* in the See of *Lincoln*, first School-master, and after Warden of the Colledge near *Winchester*, to the Episcopall See whereof we shall find him translated Anno 1556. The Church of *Rochester* had been void ever since the removall of Doctor *Story* to the See of *Chichester*, not suffered to return to his former Bishoprick, though dispoiled of the later: But it was now thought good to fill it, and *Maurice Griffin*, who for some years had been the Archdeacon, is consecrated Bishop of it on the first of *April*. One Suffrage more was gained by the repealing of an Act of Parliament, made in the last Session of King *Edward*, for dissolving the Bishoprick of *Durham*; till which time, Doctor *Cuthbert Tunstall*, though restored to his Liberty, and possibly to a good part also of his Churches Patrimony, had neither Suffrage as a Peer in the House of Parliament, nor could act anything as a Bishop in his own Jurisdiction. And with these Consecrations and Creations I conclude this year.

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THE next begins with the Arrivall of the Prince of Spain, waisted to England with a Fleet of one hundred and sixty sail of Ships, twenty of which were English, purposely sent to be his Convoy, in regard of the warrs, not then expired, betwixt the French and the Spaniards. Landing at Southampton on the 19th. of July (on which day of the month in the year foregoing the Queen had been solemnly proclaimed in London) he went to Winchester with his whole Retinue on the 24th. where he was received by the Queen with a gallant Train of Lords and Ladies; solemnly married the next day, being the Festival of St. James, (the supposed Tutelary Saint of the Spanish Nation) by the Bishop of Winchester; at what time the Queen had passed the eight and thirtieth year of her age, and the Prince was but newly entered on his twenty seventh. As soon as the Marriage-Rites were celebrated, Hieron the Emperors Embassador, presented to the King a Donation of the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which the Emperor his father had resigned unto him. Which presently was signified, and the Titles of the King and Queen proclaimed, by sound of Trumper in this following Style. PHILIP and MARY, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, Ireland, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily, Arch-Dukes of Austria, Dukes of Millain, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Ausperge, Flanders, and Tirroll, &c. At the proclaiming of which Style, (which was performed in French, Latine, and English) the King and Queen showed themselves hand in hand, with two Swords born before them, for the greater state, or in regard of their distinct Capacity in the publick Government. From Winchester they removed to Basing, and so to Windsor, where Philip on the 5th. of August was Installed Knight of the Garter, into the fellowship whereof he had been chosen the year before. From thence the Court removed to Richmond by land, and so by water to Suffolk-place in the Burrough of Southwark, and on the 12th. of the same month made a magnificent passage thorow the principal streets of the City of London, with all the Poms accustomed at a Coronation. The Triumphs of which Entertainment had continued longer, if the Court had not put on mourning for the death of the old Duke of Norfolk, who left this life at Framingham Castle in the month of September, to the great sorrow of the Queen, who entirely loved him.

Philip thus gloriously received, endeavoureth to show his Grandure, to make the English sensible of the benefits which they were to partake of by this Marriage, and to engratiate himself with the Nobility and People in all generous ways. To which end, he caused great quantity of Bullion to be brought into England, loaded in twenty Carts, carrying amongst them twenty seven Chests, each Chest containing a Yard and some inches in length, conducted to the Tower on the second of October, by certain Spaniards and English-men of his Majesties Guard. And on the 29th. of January then next following, ninety nine Horses and two Carts, laden with Treasures of Gold and Silver, brought out of Spain, was conveyed through the City to the Tower of London, under the conduct of Sir Thomas Gresham the Queens Merchant, and others. He prevailed also with the Queen for discharge of such Prisoners as stood committed in the Tower, either for matter of Religion, or on the account of Wyats Rebellion, or for engaging in the practice of the Duke of Northumberland. And being gratified therein according unto his desire, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, and certain others of the Council, were sent unto the Tower on the 18th. of January, to see the same put in execution; which was accordingly performed, to the great joy of the Prisoners, amongst which were the Archbishop of York, ten Knights, and many other persons of name and quality. But nothing did him greater honour amongst the

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English, than the great pains he took for procuring the enlargement of the Earl of *Devonshire*, and the *Princess Elizabeth*, committed formerly on a suspicion of having had a hand in *Wyat's* Rebellion, though *Wyat* honestly disavowed it at the time of his death. It was about the Feast of *Easter* that the Earl was brought unto the Court, where having obtained the leave to travel, for which before he had petitioned in vain, he pass'd the Seas, cross'd *France*, and came into *Italy*; but he found the air of *Italy* as much too hot for him, as that of *England* was too cold, dying at *Padua* in the year 1556. the eleventh and last Earl of *Devonshire*, of that noble Family. About ten days after his enlargement, followed that of the *Princess Elizabeth*, whose coming to the Court, her entertainment with the Queen, and what else followed thereupon, we shall see hereafter.

But we have run our selves too far upon these occasions, and therefore must look back again on that which followed more immediately on the Kings reception; the celebrating of whose Marriage opened a fair way for the Cardinals coming, so long expected by the Queen, and delayed by the Emperor, by whom retarded for a while when he was in *Italy*, and openly detained at *Dilling*, a Town in *Germany*, as he was upon his way towards *England*. From thence he writes his Letters of Expostulation, representing to the Emperor the great scandal which must needs be given to the Churches enemies, in detaining a Cardinal-Legat, Commissioned by his Holiness for the peace of Christendom, and the regaining of a Kingdom. Which notwithstanding, there he stayeth, till the Articles of the Marriage were agreed on by the Queens Commissioners, and is then suffered to advance as far as *Brussels*, upon condition, that he should not passe over into *England* till the consummation of the Marriage. The Interim he spends in managing a Treaty of Peace betwixt the Emperor and the French; which sorted to no other effect, but onely to the setting forth of his dexterity in all publick businesses. And now the Marriage being past, the Emperor is desired to give him leave to come for *England*; and *Pole* is called upon by Letters from the King and Queen to make haste unto them, that they might have his presence and assistance in the following Parliament; and in the mean time, that they might advise upon such particulars as were to be agreed on, for the honour and advantage of the See *Apostolick*. Upon the Emperors dismissal he repairs to *Calais*, but was detained by cross winds till the 24th. of *November*; at which time we shall find the Parliament sitting, and much of the business dispatched to his hand in which he was to have been advised with.

The business then to be dispatched was of no small moment, no lesse than the restoring of the Popes to the Supremacy, of which they had been dispossessed in the time of King *Henry*. For smoothing the way to which great work, it was thought necessary to fill up all Episcopall Sees, which either Death or Deprivation had of late made vacant. *Holgate* Archbishop of *Tork* had been committed to the Tower on the 4th. of *October*, Anno 1553. from whence released upon *Philips* intercession on the 18th. of *January*: Marriage and Heresie are his crimes, for which deprived during the time of his imprisonment. Doctor *Nicolas Heath* succeeded him in the See of *Tork*, and leaves the Bishoprick of *Worcester* to Doctor *Richard Pates*, who had been nominated by King *Henry* the Eighth, Anno 1534. and having spent the intervening twenty years in the Court of *Rome*, returned a true servant to the Pope, every way fitted and instructed to advance that See. *Goodrich* of *Elie* left his life on the 10th. of *April*, leaving that Bishoprick to Doctor *Thomas Thurlby*, Bishop of *Norwich*, (one that knew how to stand his ground in the strongest tempest) and Doctor *John Hopton*, heretofore Chaplain and Countrouler of Queen *Mary's* Household, when but Princess onely, is made Bishop of *Norwich*. *Barlow* of *Wells* having abandoned that dignity which he could not hold, had for his Successor Doctor *Gilbert Bourne* Arch-Deacon of *London*, and Brother of Sir *John Bourne*, principal Secretary of Estate. Sufficiently recompensed by this

this preferment, for the great danger which he had incurred the year before, when the Dagger was thrown at him, as he preached in St. Paul's Church-yard. *Harley* of *Hereford* is succeeded by *Puresew* (otherwise called *Wharton*) of *St. Asaph*; who had so miserably wasted the Patrimony of the Church in the time of King *Edwards*, that it was hardly worth the keeping. For the same sins of *Protestantism* and *Mariage*, old *Bush* of *Bristol*, and *Bira* of *Chester* (the two first Bishops of those Sees) were deprived also; the first succeeded to by *Holiman*, once a Monck of *Reading*; the last by *Colei*, sometimes Fellow of *Magdalen*, and afterwards Master of *Baliol* College in *Oxon*. Finally, in the place of Doctor *Richard Sampson* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who left this life on the 25th of *September*, Doctor *Radolph Bayne*, who had been *Hebrew* Reader in *Paris* in the time of King *Francis*, was consecrated Bishop of that Church; a man of better parts, but of a more inflexible temper than his Predecessor.

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And now the Parliament begins, opened upon the 11th of *November*, and closed on the 16th of *January* then next following. It had been offered to consideration in the former Session, That all Acts made against the Pope in the Reign of King *Henry* might be declared null and void, for the better encouragement of the Cardinal to come amongst us. But the Queen had neither eloquence enough to persuade, nor power enough to awe the Parliament, to that Concession: Nothing more hindered the design than general fear, that if the Popes were once restored to their former power, the Church might challenge restitution of her former possessions; Do but secure them from that fear, then Pope and Cardinals might come and welcome. And to secure them from that fear, they had not onely the promise of the King and Queen, but some assurance underhand from the Cardinal-Legat, who knew right well, that the Church Lands had been so chopped and changed by the two last Kings, as not to be restored without the manifest ruine of many of the Nobility, and most of the Gentry, who were invested in the same. Secured on both sides, they proceed according to the King's desires, and passe a general Act for the repealing of all Statutes, which had been made against the Power and Jurisdiction of the Popes of *Rome*. But first they are to be intreated to it by the Legat himself; for the opening a way to whose reception, they prepared a Bill, by which he was to be discharged of the Attainture which had passed upon him in the year 1539, restored in Blood, and rendered capable of enjoying all those Rights and Privileges, which formerly he stood possessed of in this Kingdom. For the passing of which Bill into Act, the King and Queen vouchsafed their presence, as soon as it was fitted and prepared for them, not itaying till the end of the Session as at other times, because the business might not suffer such a long delay.

It was upon the 24th of *November* that the Cardinal came first to *London*, and had his Lodgings in or near the Court, till *Lambeth-house* could be made ready to receive him. Having reposed himself for a day or two, the Lords and Commons are required to attend their Majesties at the Court, where the Cardinal, in a very grave and eloquent speech, first, gave them thanks for being restored unto his Country; in recompence whereof he told them, that he was come to restore them to the Country and Court of Heaven, from which, by their departing from the Church, they had been estranged. He therefore earnestly exhorts them to acknowledge their errors, and cheerfully to receive that benefit which Christ was ready by his Vicar to extend unto them. His Speech is said to have been long and artificial, but it concluded to this purpose, That he had the Keys to open them a way into the Church, which they had shut against themselves, by making so many Laws, to the dishonour and reproach of the See Apostolick: on the revoking of which Laws, they should find him ready to make use of his Keys, in opening the doors of the Church unto them. It was concluded hereupon by both Houses of Parliament, that a Petition should be made in the name of the Kingdom, wherein should be

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declared how sorry they were, that they had withdrawn their obedience from the Apostolick See, and consenting to the Statutes made against it; promising to do their best endeavour hereafter, that the said Laws and Statutes should be repealed; and beseeching the King and Queen to intercede for them with his Holiness, that they may be absolved from the Crimes and Censures, and be received as penitent children into the bosom of the Church.

These things being thus resolved upon, both Houses are called again to the Court on St. Andrews day; where being assembled in the presence of the King and Queen, they were asked by the Lord Chancellor *Cowdiner*, whether they were pleased, that Pardon should be demanded of the Legat, and whether they would return to the Unity of the Church, and Obedience of the Pope, Supreme Head thereof. To which, when some cryed Yea, and the rest said nothing, their silence was taken for content; and to the Petition was presented to their Majesties in the name of the Parliament. Which being publicly read, they arose, with a purpose to have moved the Cardinal in it; who meeting their desires, declared his readinesse in giving them that satisfaction which they would have craved. And having caused the Authority given him by the Pope to be publicly read, he showed how acceptable the repentance of a sinner was in the sight of God, and that the very Angels in Heaven rejoiced at the conversion of this Kingdom. Which said, they all kneeled upon their knees, and imploring the mercy of God, received absolution for themselves and the rest of the Kingdom; which Absolution was pronounced in these following words:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and wash'd us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious Spouse, without spot or wrinkle; and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his Church, He by his mercy absolve you. And we by Apostolick Authority given unto us (by the most holy Lord Pope Julius the 3^d his Vicegerent here on earth) do absolve, and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm and the Dominions thereof, from all Heresie and Schism, and from all and every Judgment, Censures and Pains, for that cause incurred. And also we do restore you again unto the unity of our Mother, the holy Church, as in our Letters more plainly it shall appear; In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Which words of his being seconded with a loud Amen by such as were present, he concluded the days work with a solemn Procession to the Chapel, for rendering Prayers and Thanks to Almighty God. And because this great work was wrought on St. Andrews day, the Cardinal procured a Decree or Canon to be made in the Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy, that from thenceforth the Feast of St. Andrew should be kept in the Church of England for a *Majus Duplex*, as the *Rituals* call it, and celebrated with as much solemnity as any other in the year. It was thought fit also, that the actions of the day should be communicated on the Sunday following, being the second of December, at St. Paul's Crosse, in the hearing of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the rest of the City. According to which appointment, the Cardinal went from Lambeth by water, and landing at St. Paul's Wharf, from thence proceeded to the Church, with a Cross, two Pillars, and two Pole-axes of silver born before him. Received by the Lord Chancellor with a solemn Procession, they arrived till the King came from *Westminster*; Immediately upon whose coming, the Lord Chancellor went into the Pulpit, and preached upon those words of St. Paul, Rom. 13. *Fratres, scientes quia hora est jam nos de somno surgere, &c.* In which Sermon he declared what had been done on the Friday before, in the session which was made to the Pope by the Lords and Commons, in the name of themselves and the whole Kingdom; and the Absolution granted to them by the Cardinal in the name of the Pope. Which done, and Prayers being made for the whole Estate of the Catholick Church, the

the company was for that time dismissed. And on the *Thursday* after, being the Feast of *St. Nicholas* day, the Bishops and Clergy then assembled in their Convocation, presented themselves before the Cardinal at *Lambeth*, and kneeling reverently on their knees, they obtained pardon for all their Perjuries, Schisms, and Heresies: From which a formal Absolution was pronounced also, that so all sorts of people might partake of the Pope's Benediction, and thereby testify their obedience and submission to him. The news whereof being speedily posted over to the Pope, he caused not onely many solemn Processions to be made in *Rome*, and most parts of *Italy*, but proclaimed a Jubile to be held on the 24th. of *December* then next coming. For the anticipating of which solemnity, he alleged this reason, That it became him to imitate the father of the Prodigal child; and having received his lost son, not onely to expresse a domestical joy, but to invite all others to partake thereof.

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During this Parliament was held a Convocation also, as before was intimated, *Bonner* continuing President of it, and *Henry Cole*, Archdeacon of *Ely*, admitted to the office of Prolocutor. They knew well how the Cards were plaid, and that the Cardinal was to be entreated not to insist on the restoring of Church Lands, rather to confirm the Lords and Gentry in their present possessions. And to that end, a Petition is prepared to be presented in the name of the Convocation, to both their Majesties, that they would please to intercede with the Cardinal in it. Which Petition being not easie to be met withall, and never printed heretofore, is here subjoynd, according to the tenour and effect thereof in the Latine Tougne.

WE the Bishops and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, assembled in Convocation during the sitting of this Parliament, according to the ancient custom, with all due reverence and humility do make known to your Majesties, That though we are appointed to take upon us the care and charge of all those Churches, in which we are placed as Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Parsons, or Vicars; as also of the Soules therein committed to us, together with all Goods, Rights and Privileges therunto belonging, according to the true intent and meaning of the Canons made in that behalf; and that in this respect we are bound to use all lawfull means for the recovery of those Goods, Rights, Privileges, and Jurisdictions, which have been lost in the late desperate and pernicious Schism, and to regain the same unto the Church, as in her first and right estate; Yet notwithstanding, having took mature deliberation of the whole matter amongst our selves, we cannot but ingenuously confesse, that we know well how difficult a thing, if not impossible, it is, to recover the said Goods unto their Churches, in regard of the manifold unavoidable Contrasts, Sales, and Alienations, which have been made about the same; and that if any such thing should be attempted, it would not onely redound to the disturbance of the publick peace, but be a means, that the unity in the Catholick Church, which by the goodnessse of your Majesties had been so happily begun, could not obtain its desired effect, without very great difficulty. Wherefore preferring the publick good and quiet of the Kingdom, before our own private commodities, and the salvation of so many soules, redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, before any earthly things whatsoever, and not seeking our own, but the things of Jesus Christ, we do most earnestly and most humbly beseech your Majesties, that you would graciously vouchsafe to intercede in our behalf with the most reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, Legat à Latere, from his Holinesse, our most serene Lord, Pope Julius the third, as well to your most excellent Majesties, as to the whole Realm of England, that he would please to settle and confirm the said Goods of the Church, either in whole or in part, as he thinks most fit, on the present occupantes thereof, according to the powers and faculties committed to him, by the said most serene Lord the Pope; thereby preferring the publick good before the private, the peace and tranquillity of the Realm before suites and troubles, and the salvation of Soules before earthly treasures. And for our parts, we do both now, and for all times coming, give consent to all and every thing, which by the said Lord Legate shall, in this case, be finally ordained

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ordained and concluded on; humbly beseeching your Majesties, that you would graciously vouchsafe to perswade the said Lord Cardinal in our behalf, not to show himself in the Premises too strict and difficult. And we do further humbly beseech your Majesties, that you would please, according to your wonted goodnesse, to take such course, that our Ecclesiastical Rights, Liberties, and Jurisdictions, which have been taken from us, by the iniquity of the former times, and without which we are not able to discharge our common duties, either in the exercise of the pastoral Office, or the cure of souls committed to our trust and care, may be again restored unto us, and be perpetually preserved inviolable both to us and our Churches; and that all laws which have been made to the prejudice of this our jurisdiction, and other Ecclesiastical liberties, or otherwise have proved to the hindrance of it, may be repealed, to the honour of God, as also to the temporal and spiritual profit, not only of your said most excellent Majesty, but of all the Realm; giving our selves assured hope, that your most excellent Majesties, according to your singular piety to almighty God, for so many and great benefits received from him, will not be wanting to the necessities of the Kingdom, and the occasions of the Churches, having cure of souls, but that you would consider and provide as need shall be, for the peace thereof.

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Which Petition being thus drawn up, was humbly offered to the Legate, in the name of the whole Convocation, by the Lord Chancellor, (who was present at the making of it): the Prolocutor and six others of the lower house. And it may very well be thought to be welcome to him, in regard it gave him some good colour for not touching on so harsh a thing, as the restoring of Church lands. Concerning which he was not ignorant that a message had been sent to the Pope in the name of the Parliament, to desire a confirmation of the sale of the lands belonging to Abbies, Chantries, &c. or otherwise to let him know that nothing could be granted in his behalf. And it is probable, that they received some fair promises to that effect, in regard that on the New years day then next following, the Act for restoring the Pope's supremacy, was passed in both houses of Parliament, and could not but be entertain'd for one of the most welcome New years Gifts which ever had been given to a Pope of Rome. What the Pope did in retribution, we are told by *Sleidan*, in whom we find that he confirmed all those Bishops in their several Sees, which were of Catholick persuasions, and had been consecrated in the time of the Schism, as also that he established such new Bishopricks which were erected in the time of King Henry the 8th. and made good all such marriages, as otherwise might be subject unto dispute. He adds a confirmation also, (which I somewhat doubt) of the Abby lands, and telleth, that all this was ratified by the Bull of Pope Paul the 4th. He dispensed also by the hand of the Cardinal, with irregularity in several persons, confirmed the Ordination and Institution of Clergy men in their Callings and Benefices; legitimated the children of forbidden marriages, and ratified the processes and sentences in matters Ecclesiastical. Which general favours notwithstanding, every Bishop in particular, (except only the Bishop of Landaff) most humbly sought, and obtained pardon of the Pope for their former error, not thinking themselves to be sufficiently secured by any general dispensation, how large soever. And so the whole matter being transacted to the content of all parties, (the poor Protestants excepted only) on Friday the 25th. of January, being the Feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul, there was a general and solemn Procession throughout London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the Catholick Church. Wherein (to set out their glorious pomp) were ninety Crosses, one hundred sixty Priests and Clerks, each of them attired in his Cope; and after them eight Bishops in their Pontificalibus, followed by Bonner, carrying the Popish Pix under a Canopy, and attended by the Lord Mayor and Companies in their several Liveries. Which solemn Procession being ended, they all returned into the Church of St Paul, where the King and Cardinal, together with all the rest, heard Mass, and the next day the Parliament and Convocation were dissolved.

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Nothing now rested, but the sending of a solemn Embassy in the name of the King and Kingdom, to the Court of Rome, for testifying their submission to his Holiness, and receiving his Apostolical benediction. To which employment were designed Sir *Anthony Brown*, who on the 2d. of September had been created Viscount *Mountacute*, in regard of his descent from Sir *John Nevil*, whom King *Edward* the 4th. advanced unto the Title of *Marquiss Mountacute*, as being the second son of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Sarisbury*, and *Alice* his wife, daughter and heir of *Thomas Mountacute*, the last and most renowned Earl of *Sarisbury*, of that Name and Family. With whom was joined in Commission as another Ambassador extraordinary, Dr *Thomas Thurlby*, Bishop of *Ely*, together with Sir *Edward Kern*, appointed to reside as Ordinary in the Papal Court. On the 18th day of February, they began their journey, but found so great an alteration when they came to Rome, that Pope *Juinus* was not only dead, but that *Marcellus*, who succeeded him, was deceased also; so that the honour and felicity of this address from the King of *England*, devolved on Cardinal *Caraffa*, (no great friend of *Poles*) who took unto himself the name of *Paul* the 4th. on the first day of whose Papacy, it chanced that the three Ambassadors came first to Rome. It was in the first Consistory also, after his inauguration, that the Ambassadors were brought before him: Where prostrating themselves at the Pope's feet, they in the name of the Kingdom, acknowledged the faults committed, relating them all in particular, (for so the Pope was pleas'd to have it) confessing that they had been ungrateful for so many benefits received from the Church, and humbly craving pardon for it. The pardon was not only granted, and the Ambassadors lovingly embraced; but as an overplus, the Pope was pleas'd to honour their Majesties with the Title of Kings of *Ireland*. Which Title he conferred upon them, by the authority which the Popes pretend to have from God, in erecting and subverting Kingdoms. He knew right well that *Ireland* had been erected into a Kingdom by King *Henry* the 8th. and that both *Edward* the 6th. and the Queen now reigning, had alwayes used the Title of Kings of *Ireland* in the style Imperial: But he conceived himself not bound to take notice of it, or to relinquish any privilege which had been exercised in that kind by his predecessors. And thereupon he found out this temperament, that is to say, to dissemble his knowledge of that which had been done by *Henry*, and of himself to erect the Island into a Kingdom; that so the world might be induced to believe, that the Queen rather used that Title as indulged by the Pope, than as assumed by her Father. And this he did according to a secret mystery of Government in the Church of Rome, in giving that which they could not take from the possessor; as on the other side some Kings to avoid contentions, have received of them their own proper goods, as gifts; and others have dissembled the knowledge of the Gift, and the pretence of the Giver.

These things being thus dispatched in publick, the Pope had many private discourses with the Ambassadors, in which he found fault that the Church goods were not wholly restored; saying, that by no means it was to be tolerated, and that it was necessary to render all, even to a farthing. He added, that the things which belong to God, could never be applied to humane uses, and that he who withholdeth the least part of them, was in continual state of damnation; that if he had power to grant them, he would do it most readily, for the fatherly affection which he bare unto them, and for the experience which he had of their filial obedience; but that his authority was not so large as to prophane things dedicated to Almighty God; and therefore he would have the people of *England* be assured, that these Church lands would be an *Anathema*, or an accursed thing, which by the just revenge of God would keep the Kingdom in perpetual infelicity. And of this he charged the Ambassadors to write immediately, not speaking it once or twice only, but repeating it upon all occasions. He also told them that the *Peter-Pence* ought to be paid as soon as might be, and that according to the custome he would send a Collector for that

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that purpose, letting them know, that himself had exercised that charge in England, for three years together; and that he was much edified by seeing the forwardness of the people in that contribution. The discourse upon which particular he closed with this, that they could not hope that St Peter would open to them the gates of Heaven, as long as they usurped his goods on earth. To all which talk the Ambassadors could not chuse but give a hearing, and knew that they should get no more at their coming home.

At their departure out of England, they left the Queen in an opinion of her being with child, and doubted not but that they should congratulate her safe delivery, when they came to render an account of their employment; but it proved the contrary. The Queen about three months after her marriage, began to find strong hopes, not only that she had conceived, but also that the was far gone with child. Notice whereof was sent by Letters to Bonner, from the Lords of the Council, by which he was required to cause *Te Deum* to be sung in all the Churches of his Diocese, with continual prayers to be made for the Queen's safe delivery. And for example to the rest, these commands were executed first on the 28th. of November, Dr Chadsey one of the Prebends of Paul's preaching at the Cross, in the presence of the Bishop of London, and nine other Bishops, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen attending in their scarlet Robes, and many of the principal Citizens in their several Liveries. Which opinion gathering greater strength with the Queen, and belief with the people, it was Enacted by the Lords and Commons then sitting in Parliament, "That if it should happen to the Queen otherwise than well in the time of her travel, that then the King should have the politick Government, Order and Administration of this Realm, during the tender years of her Majestie's issue, together with the Rule, Order, Education and Government of the said issue. Which charge as he was pleased to undergo at their humble sute, so they were altogether as forward to confer it on him; not doubting, but that during the time of such Government, he would by all wayes and means, study, travail, and employ himself to advance the weal, both publick and private, of this Realm, and Dominions thereunto belonging, according to the trust reposed in him, with no less good will and affection, than if his Highness had been naturally born amongst us. Set Forms of Prayers were also made for her safe delivery, and one particularly by Weston, the Prolocutor of the first Convocation; in which it was prayed, *That she might in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that she forgetting the trouble, might with joy, laud and praise, &c.* Great preparations were also made of all things necessary. against the time of her delivery, which was supposed would fall out about Whitsun tide, in the month of June, even to the providing of Midwives, Nurses, Rockers and the Cradle too. And so far the hopes thereof were entertained, that on a sudden rumour of her being delivered, the bells were rung, and bonfires made in most parts of London. The like solemnities were used at Antwerp, by discharging all the Ordnance in the English ships; for which the Mariners were gratified by the Queen Regent with 100 Pistolers. In which, as all of them seem'd to have a spice of madness in them, so none was altogether so wild as the Captain of St Ann's near Aldersgate, who took upon him after the end of the Procession, to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a Prince it was, the like whereof had never been seen.

But so it hapned, that notwithstanding all these triumphs, it proved in fine, that the Queen neither was with child at the present, nor had any hopes of being so for the time to come. By some it was conceived, that this report was raised upon policy only, to hold her up in the affection of her husband, and the love of her subjects, by others, that she had been troubled with a Timpany, which not only made her belly swell, but by the windiness of the disease, possessed her with a fancy of her being quick. And some again have left in writing, that having had the misfortune of a false conception, which bred in her a fleshy

fleshly and informed substance, by the Physicians called a *Mole*, the continual increase whereof, and the agitation it made in her, occasioned her to believe what she most desired, and to report what she believed. But this informed lump being taken from her with no small difficulty, did not onely turn her supposed joy to shame and sorrow, but made much game amongst some of the *Zuinglian* Gospellers, (for I cannot think, that any true English Protestant could make sport thereof) who were so far from desiring that the Queen should have any Issue to succeed in the Throne, that they prayed God by shortning her days to deprive her of it. Insomuch that one *R. J.* the Minister to a private Congregation in *Bow Church-yard*, did use to say, *That God would either turn her heart from Idolatry, or else shorten her days.* On which occasion, and some others of the like ill nature, an Act was made in the said Parliament, for punishing of traitorous words against the Queen; in which it was enacted, That the said Prayers, and all others of the like mischievous quality, should be interpreted to be high treason against the Queen. The like exhorbitances I find too frequent in this Queens Reign, to which some men were so transported by a furious zeal, that a Gun was shot at one Doctor *Pendleton*, as he preached at *St. Paul's Cross* on Sunday the 10th. of June, Anno 1554. the Peller whereof went very near him; but the Gunner was not to be heard of. Which occasioned the Queen to publish a Proclamation within few days after, prohibiting the shooting in Hand-guns, and the bearing of weapons. Before which time, that is to say, on the 8th. of April, some of them had caused a Car to be hanged upon a Gallows, near the Cross in *Cheapside*, with her head shorn, the likeness of a Vestment cast upon her, and her two fore-feet tied together, holding between them a piece of paper in the form of a Wafer, Which tending so apparently to the disgrace of the Religion then by Law established, was showed the same day, being Sunday, at *St. Paul's Cross*, by the said Doctor *Pendleton*; which possibly might be the sole reason of the mischief so desperately intended to him.

Such were the madnesses of those People; but the Orthodox and sober Protestant shall be brought to a reckoning, and forced to pay dearly for the follies of those men, which it was not in their powers to hinder. The Governours of the Church exasperated by these provocations, and the Queen charging *Wyat's* Rebellion on the Protestant party, the both agreed on the reviving of some ancient Statutes made in the time of King *Richard* the 2d. King *Henry* the 4th. and King *Henry* the 5th. for the severe punishment of obstinate *Hereticks*, even to death itself. Which Act being passed, the three great Bishops of the time were not alike minded for the putting it in execution. The Lord Cardinal was clearly of opinion, that they should rest themselves contented with the restitution of their own Religion; that the said three Statutes should be held forth for a terrour onely, but that no open persecution should be raised upon them; following therein, as he affirmed, the counsell sent unto the Queen by *Charles* the Emperour, at her first coming to the Crown, by whom she was advised to create no trouble unto any man for matter of conscience, but to be warned unto the contrary by his example, who by endeavouring to compell others to his own Religion, had tired and spent himself in vain. and purchased nothing by it but his own dishonour. But the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner* could not like of this, to whom it seemed to be all one, never to have revived the said three Statutes, as nor to see them put in execution. That some blood should be drawn in case of refractoriness, and an incorrigible non-conformity, he conceived most necessary. But he would have the Axe laid onely to the Root of the Tree, the principal supporters of the Hereticks, to be taken away, whether they were of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, or the Lay-Nobility; and some of the more pragmatick preachers to be cut off also; the rest of the people to be spared, as they who meerly did depend on the power of the other. Let but the Shepherds be once smitten, and the whole flock will presently be scattered, without further trouble.

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Well then, said *Bonner* to himself, I see the honour of this work is reserved for me, who neither fear the Emperor's frowns, nor the peoples curses. Which having said, (as if he had been pumping for a resolution) he took his times to make it known unto the other two, that he perceived they were as willing as himself, to have the Catholick Religion entertained in all parts of the Kingdom, though neither of them seemed desirous to act any thing in it, or take the envy on himself; that he was well enough pleased with that reservedness, hoping they did not mean it for a precedent unto him or others, who had a mind to shew their zeal and forwardness in the Catholick cause. Have I not seen (saith he) that the Hereticks themselves have broke the Ice, in putting one of their own number (I think they called him by the name of *Servetus*) to a cruel death. Could it be thought no crime in them, to take that more severe course against one of their brethren, for holding any contrary doctrine, from that which they had publickly agreed amongst them? And can they be so silly, or so partial rather, as to reckon at for a crime in us, if we proceed against them with the like severity, and punish them by the most extream rigour of their own example? I plainly see, that neither you my Lord Cardinal, nor you my Lord Chancellor, have any Answer to return to my present Argument, which is sufficient to encourage me to proceed upon it. I cannot act Canonically against any of them, but such as live within the compass of my jurisdiction, in which I shall desire no help nor countenance from either of you. But as for such as live in the Diocese of *Canterbury*, or that of *Winchester*, or otherwise nor within my reach in what place soever, let them be sent for up by order from the Lords of the Council, committed to the *Tower*, the *Fleet*, or any other Prison within my Diocese, And when I have them in my clutches, let God do so, and more to *Bonner*, if they scape his fingers.

The Perfection thus resolved on, home goes the bloody Executioner, armed with as much power as the Law could give him, and backed by the Authority of so great a King, taking some other of the Bishops to him, convents before him certain of the Preachers of King *Edward's* time, who formerly had been committed to several prisons; of whom it was demanded, Whether they would stand to their former doctrines, or accept the Queens Pardon and Recant? To which it was generally and stoutly answered, That they would stand unto their doctrines. Hereupon followed that *Inquisition for blood* which raged in *London*, and more or less was exercised in most parts of the Kingdom. The first that led the way was Mr. *John Rogers*, a right learned man, and a great companion of that *Tyndal*, by whom the Bible was translated into English in the time of King *Henry*: After whose Martyrdom, not daring to return into his own country, he retired to *Wittenberge* in the Dukedom of *Saxony*, where he remained till King *Edward's* coming to the Crown, and was by Bishop *Ridley* preferred to the Lecture of *St. Pauls*, and made one of the Prebends. Nothing the better liked of for his Patron's sake, he was convented and condemned, and publickly burnt in *Smithfield* on the 4th. of *February*. On the 9th. day of which Month, another fire was kindled at *Glocester* for the burning of Mr. *John Hooper*, the late Bishop thereof, of whom, sufficient hath been spoke in another place; condemned amongst the rest at *London*, but appointed to be burnt in *Glocester*, as the place in which he most had sinned, by sowing the seeds of false doctrine amongst the people. The news whereof being brought unto him, he rejoiced exceedingly, in regard of that excellent opportunity which was thereby offered, for giving testimony by his death to the truth of that Doctrine, which had so oft founded in their ears, and now should be confirmed by the sight of their eyes. The Warrant for whose burning was in these words following, as I find it in the famous Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*.

Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, is by due order of the Laws Ecclesiastical condemned, and judged for a
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most obstinate, false, and detestable Heretick, and committed to our Secular Power, to be burned, according to the wholesome and good Laws of our Realm, in that case provided: Forasmuch as in those Cities and Dioceses thereof, he hath in times past preached and taught most pestilent Heresies and Doctrine to our Subjects there, we have therefore given order, that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and refuseh mercy when it was graciously offered, shall be put to execution in the said City of Glocester, for the example and terrour of others, such as he hath there seduced and mis-taught, and because he hath done most harme there. And will that you, calling to you some of reputation, dwelling in that Shire, such as you think best, shall repair unto your said City, and be at the said execution, assisting our Mayor and Sheriffs of the same City in this behalf. And forasmuch as the said Hooper is, as other Hereticks, a vain-glorious person, and delighted in his tongue, to perswade such as he hath seduced to persist in the miserable opinions that he hath sown amongst them, our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place there, suffered to speak at large, but thither to be led quietly, and in silence, for eschewing of further infection, and such inconveniences as may otherwise ensue in this part. Whereof fail ye not, as ye tender our pleasure, &c.

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The like course was also taken with Bishop Farrar, but that I do not find him restrained from speaking his mind unto the people, as the other was: A man of an implausible nature, which rendred him the less agreeable to either side; callt into prison by the Protestant, and brought out to his death and martyrdom by the Popish party. Being found in prison at the death of King Edward, he might have fared as well as any of his rank and order, who had no hand in the interposing for Queen Jane, if he had governed himself with that discretion, and given such fair and moderate Answers, as any man in his condition might have honestly done. But being called before Bishop Gardiner, he behaved himself so proudly, and gave such offence, that he was sent back again to prison, and after condemned for an obstinate Heretick. But for the sentence of his condemnation, he was sent into his own Diocess, there to receive it at the hand of Morgan, who had supplanted and succeeded him in the See of St. Davids. Which cruell wretch having already took possession, could conceive no way safer for his future establishment, than by imbruing his hands in the blood of this learned Prelate, and to make sure with him, for ever claiming a restitution, or coming in by a Remitter to his former estate; in reference whereunto he past sentence on him, caused him to be delivered to the Civil Magistrate, nor desisting till he had brought him to the Stake on the third of March, more glad to see him mounting unto Heaven in a fiery Chariot, than once Elisha was on the like translation of the Prophet Elijah. I shall say nothing in this place of the death and martyrdom of Dr. Rowland Taylor, Rector of Had'ey in the Countrey of Harisford, and there also burned, Febr. 9. Or of John Cardmaker, Chancellor of the Church of Wells, who suffered the like death in London on the last of May; Or of Lawrence Sanders, an excellent Preacher, martyr'd at Coventry, where he had spent the greatest part of his Ministry, who suffered in the same month also, but three weeks sooner than the other; Or of John Bradford, a right holy man, and a diligent Preacher, condemned by Bonner, and brought unto the Stake in Smithfield on the first of July; though he had deserved better of that bloody Butcher, (but that no courtessie can oblige a cruel and ungrateful person) in saving the life of Doctor Bonner his Chaplain, as before was shewed: Or finally of any of the rest of the noble Army of Martyrs, who fought the Lords Battels in those times; onely I shall insit on three of the principal Leaders, and take a short view of the rest in the general Muster.

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Being resolved to wave the writing of a *Martyrology*, which is done already to my hand in the *Annals* and *Monuments*, I shall insist only upon three of most eminent rank, that is to say, Archbishop *Cranmer*, Bishop *Laithner*, and Bishop *Ridley*, men of renown, never to be forgotten in the Church of England. Of whom there hath so much been said in the course of this History, that nothing need be added more, than the course of their sufferings. Committed to the Tower by several Warrants, and at several times, they were at once discharged from the Tower of London on the 10th. of April, Anno 1554. Removed from thence to Windsor, and at last to Oxon. where they were to combat for their lives. A combat not unlike to that of St Paul at Ephesus, where he is said to fight with beasts after the manner of men; the disputation being managed so tumultuously with shouts and out-cries, and so disorderly without rule or modesty, as might make it no improper parallel to St Paul's encounter. The persons against whom they were to enter the lists, were culled out of the ablest men of both Universities, commissioned to dispute, and authorized to sit as Judges. And then what was to be expected, by the three Respondents, but that their opposites must have the better of the day, who could not be supposed to have so little care of their own reputation, as to pass sentence on themselves. Out of the University of Oxon were selected Dr *Wesley*, Prolocutor of the Convocation then in being, Dr *Tresham*, Dr *Cole*, Dr *Oyliborpe*, Dr *Pie*, Mr *Harpsfield*, and Mr *Fecknam*; with whom were joined by the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*, (who had the nomination of them) Dr *Younge*, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Dr *Glyn*, Dr *Seaton*, Dr *Walsen*, Dr *Sedgewick*, and Dr *Aikin-son*, of the same University.

The Questions upon which the Disputants were to try their fortune, related to the Sacrament of the blessed Eucharist, and were these that follow. 1. *Whether the natural body and blood of Christ be really in the Sacrament, after the words spoken by the Priest, or no?* 2. *Whether in the Sacrament after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ?* 3. *Whether the Mass be a sacrifice propitiatory, for the sins of the quick and the dead?* Which having been propounded in the Convocation at Cambridge, and there concluded in such manner, as had been generally maintained in the Schools of Rome, the Vice Chancellor, and the rest of the Disputants which came from thence, could have no power to determine otherwise in the points, when they should come to sit as Judges. Nor is it to be thought, but that as well the Cambridge as the Oxon Disputants, came well prepared, studied and versed in those Arguments on which they intended to insist; having withall the helps of books, and of personal conference, together with all other advantages which might flatter them with the hopes of an easy victory. But on the other side, the three Defendants had but two dayes of preparation allotted to them, debarred of all access unto one another; not suffered to enjoy the use of their own books and papers; and kept in such uncomfortable places, as were but little different from the common dungeons. But out they must to try their fortune, there being no other choice left them, but to fight or yield; and which made most to the advantage of the other side, they were to try their fortune single, each of them destinated to a several day, so that they could not contribute to the assistance of one another, if their occasions had required it. *Cranmer* begins on the 18th. of April, *Ridley* succeeds upon the next, and *Laithner* brings up the arreir on the morrow after; each man an army in himself, and to encounter with an army, as the cause was managed.

At the first meeting, when the questions were to be propounded and disputed on, *Wesley*, by reason of his place, entertains the Auditory with a short Orati-

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on, wherein he was to lay before them the cause of their assembling at that place and time. But such was his ill luck, as to stumble at that very threshold, and to conclude against himself in the very first opening of the disputation, which he is said to have begun in these following words, *Convenisti hodie facere profligatorem Hæresandum il'um Hæresin, de veritate corporis Christi in Sacramento, &c.* That is to say, *You are assembled hither brethren this day, to confound that detestable Hærese, of the verity of the body of Christ in the Sacrament, &c.* Which gross mistake, occasioned no small shame in some, but more laughter in many. It was observed of him also, that during the whole time of the disputation, he had alwayes a cup of wine, or some other strong liquor standing by him, and that having once the pot in his hand, when an argument was urged by one of the Disputants, which he very well liked of, he cried aloud to him, *urge hæc, urge hæc, nam hoc facit pro nobis.* Which being applied by some of the spectators to his pot of drink, occasioned more sport and merriment than his first mistake. But let them laugh that win, as the Proverb hath it, and *Wesson* is resolved to win the race, whosoever runs best. The tumult and disorder of this disputation hath been touched before, and may be seen at large, with all the Arguments and Answers of either side, in the *Acts* and *Mor.* Suffice it in this place to know, that having severally made good their appointed dayes, they were all called together on *Friday* the 20th. of that month, *Wesson* then sitting with the rest in the nature of Judges, by whom they were demanded, whether they would subscribe or not? which when they had severally refused to do, their sentence was pronounced by the Prolocutor in the name of the rest, in which they were declared to be *no members of the Church*, and that therefore; they, their patrons and followers, were condemned as Hereticks. In the reading whereof, they were again severally asked whether they would turn or not; to which they severally answered, *read on in God's name*, for they were resolved not to turn. And so the sentence being pronounced, they were returned again to their several prisons, there to expect what execution would ensue upon it.

And execution there was none to ensue upon it, till the end of the Session of Parliament then next following, because till then, there was no law in force for putting Hereticks to death, as in former times. During which interval, they exercised themselves in their private studies, or in some godly meditations, writing consolatory Letters unto such of their friends as were reduced by the iniquity of the times, to the like extremity; amongst which, as they understood their dear brother Mr *John Hooper*, Bishop of *Glocester*, to have been marked out for the slaughter, so that intelligence revived in Bishop *Ridley's* thoughts, the remembrance of that controverſie which had been between them (concerning the Episcopal habit) in the time of King *Edward*. There is no question to be made, but that they had forgotten and forgiven that quarrel long before; yet *Ridley* did not think he had done enough, if he left not to the world some testimony of their mutual charity, as well as their consent in doctrine, such as might witness to the world, that they maintained the *spirit of unity in the bond of peace*. Concerning which he writes to him in this manner following; viz. — But now my dear Brother, forasmuch as I understand by your book, which I have but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree, and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our Religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our dayes; however in times past in certain by-matters and circumstances of Religion, your wisdom and simplicity (I must confesse) have a little jarred, each of us following the abnegation of his own spirit. Now I say be assured, that even with my whole heart; God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the truth, and for the truths sake which abideth in us, as I am persuaded, and by the Grace of God shall abide in us for ever more. And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play his p. game, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force and power, exalting high things against the knowledge of God: Let us join hands together in Christ, as if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth,

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let us shake those high Altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons; and withall, brother, let us prepare our selves to the day of dissolution, by that which after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with him, in eternal glory.

Comforted with reciprocal letters of this holy nature, they both prepared themselves for death, in which Hooper had the honour to lead the way, as being more in *Banner's* eye when the Act past for reviving the Statutes before mentioned in the case of Heresie. But Hooper having led the way, and many other godly and religious men following the same tract which he had made, it came at last unto the turn of these reverend Prelates to pass through the same *rajea* to the *Land of Promise*. In order whereunto, a Commission is directed from the Pope to Dr *James Broke*, Bishop of *Glocester*, by which he is authorized as Subdelegare to his Holiness, to proceed in the cause of *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The like Commission is directed to Dr *Martin*, and Dr *Sney*, to attend the business, as delegated thereunto by the King and Queen, before whom convened in *St Mary's Church* on the 12th. of September he did his reverence to the two Doctors, as Commissioners for the King and Queen, but could not be perswaded to shew any respect to the Bishop of *Glocester*, because commissioned by the Pope. He had before abjur'd the Popes supremacy in the time of King *Henry*, and would not now submit unto it in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, desiring the Bishop not to interpret it an affront to his person, to whom otherwise he should gladly pay all due regards, had he appeared in any other capacity than the Popes Commissioner. Not being able to remove him from that resolution, they propounded to him certain Articles concerning his having been twice married, his denial of the Popes supremacy, his judgement in the point of the blessed Sacrament, his having been declared an Heretick by the late Prolocutor, and the rest of the Commissioners there assembled. To all which Articles he so answered, as to deny nothing of the charge in matter of fact, but only to stand upon his justification in point of Doctrine. The whole proceeding being summed up, he is cited to appear before the Pope within 80 dayes. To which he said that he was most willing so to do, if the King and Queen would please to send him. And so he was returned to the prison from whence he came, and there kept safe enough from making any journey to *Rome*, remaining in safe custody till he was brought out to suffer death, of which more hereafter.

On the 28th. of the same month, comes out another Commission from the Cardinal Legate, directed to *John White*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, *James Brooks*, Bishop of *Glocester*, and *John Holyman*, Bishop of *Bristol*, or any two of them; enabling them to proceed to the degradation of the other two Bishops, if they retracted not those doctrines, for holding which they had been formerly declared to be Hereticks. But they courageously adhering to their first opinions, and otherwise expressing as little reverence to the Substitutes of the Cardinal Legate, as *Cranmer* had done to the Commissioners of the Pope, the sentence was pronounced upon them to this effect; that is to say. "That forasmuch as the said *Nicholas Ridley*, and *Hugh Lamer*, did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions and Heresies contrary to the Word of God, and the received faith of the Church; as first, *In denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be in the Sacrament of the Altar*. 2. *In affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration*. And 3. *In denying the Masse to be a lively sacrifice of the Church for the quick and the dead*, and by no means could be reduced from the same: that therefore they the said *John of Lincoln*, *James of Glocester*, and *John of Bristol*, did adjudge and condemn them the said *N. Ridley*, and *H. Lamer* as Hereticks, both by word and deed, to be degraded from the degree of a Bishop, from Priesthood, and all other Ecclesiastical Orders; declaring them moreover to be no members of the Church, and therefore to be committed to the secular powers, to receive due punishment according to the Tenor of the temporal

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Laws. According to which Sentence, they were both degraded on the 15th. of *October*, and brought unto the Stake in the Town-ditch over against *Balol College* on the morrow after, where with great constancy and courage they endured that death, to which they had been pre-condemned before: they were heard. *Cranmer* was prisoner at that time in the North-gate of the City, called *Bocardo*, from the top whereof he beheld that most doleful spectacle; and casting himself upon his knees, he humbly beseeched the Lord to endure them with a sufficient strength of Faith and Hope; which he also desired for himself, whensoever he should act his part on that bloody Theater.

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But he must stay the Popes leisure before he was to be brought on the Stage again. The Queen had been acquainted with such discourses, as had passed betwixt the Pope and her Ambassadors, when they were at *Rome*; and she appeared desirous to have gratified him in his demands. But the Kings absence, who set sail for *Calais* on the fourth of *September*; and the next morning took his journey to the Emperors Court, which was then at *Bonnels*, rendered the matter not so feasible as it might have been, if he had continued in the Kingdom. For having called a Parliament to begin on the 21 of *October*, she caused many of the Lords to be dealt withall touching the passing of an Act for the restoring of all such Lands as had belonged unto the Church, and were devolved upon the Crown, and from the Crown into the hands of privat persons, by the fall of Monasteries, and other Religious Houses, or by any other ways or means whatsoever. But such a general avernesse was found amongst them, that she was advised to desist from that unprofitable undertaking. Certain it is, that many who were cordially affected to the Queens Religion, were very much startled at the noise of this Restitution, insomuch that some of them are said to have clapt their hands upon their swords, affirming, not without some Oaths, that they would never part with their Abbey Lands as long as they were able to wear a sword by their sides. Which being signified to the Queen, it seemed good to her to let fall that sute for the present, and to give them good example for the time to come, by passing an Act, for releasing the Clergy from the payment of first Fruits and Tithes, which had been formerly vested in the Crown in the Reign of her Father. Against which when it was objected by some of the Lords of the Council, that the state of her Kingdoms and Crown Imperial could not be so honourably maintained as in former times, if such a considerable part of the Revenue were dismembered from it; she is said to have returned this answer, That she preferred the salvation of her Soul before ten such Kingdoms. She procured another Act to be passed also, which very much redounded to the benefit of the two Universities, inhibiting all Purveyors from taking up any provisions for the use of the Court within five miles of *Oxon* or *Cambridge*; by means whereof, those Markets were more plentifully served with all sorts of Provisions than in former times, and at more reasonable rates than otherwise they could have been, without that restraint. In her first Parliament, the better to indear her self to the common subject, she had released a Subsidie which was due unto her, by an Act of Parliament made in the time of King *Edward* the sixth. And now to make her some amends, they gave her a Subsidie of four shillings in the Pound for Lands, and two shillings eight-pence in the pound for Goods. In the drawing up of which Act, an Oath, which had been formerly prescribed to all manner of persons, for giving in a just account of their estates, was omitted wholly, which made the Subsidie sink beneath expectation. But the Queen came unto the Crown by the love of the people, and was to do nothing to the hazard of their affections, which she held it by.

At the same time was held a Convocation also, for summoning whereof, a Writ was issued in the name of the King and Queen, to the Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitonical Church of *Canterbury*, the See being then vacant by the attaindure of Archbishop *Cranmer*. *Bennyar* presides in it as before, *Boxhall* then Warden of *Winchester* preacheth (though not in the capacity) at the opening

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ing of it, and Doctor *John Christopher*, Dean of *Norwich*, is chosen Prolocutor for the House of the Clergy. But the chief business done therein was the granting of a Subsidie of six shillings in the pound to be paid out of all their Ecclesiastical Promotions in three years then following. Nor was it without reason that they were induced to so large a grant; The Queen had actually reitored unto them their First-fruits and Tenths, though at that time the Crown was not in such a plentiful condition; as to part with such an annual income. And she had promised also, (as appears by the Records of the Convocation) to render back unto the Church all such Impropriations, Tithes, and portion of Tithes, as were still remaining in the Crown. For the disposing of which Grant to the best advantage, the Cardinal-Legat, at the Queens desire, had conceived an Instrument, which was then offered to the consideration of the Prolocutor, and the rest of the Clergy; it was proposed also by the Bishop of *Eliz*, that some certain learned men might be chosen out of the House, to review all the ancient Canons, to fit them to the present state of the Church; and where they found any thing defective in them, to supply that defect, by making such new Canons and Constitutions, as being approved of by the Lords, should be made obligatory to the Clergy, and the rest of the Kingdom. This was well mov'd, and serv'd to entertain the time; but I find nothing in pursuance of it.

But on the other side, the Prolocutor bringing up the Bill of the Subsidies in the end of *October*, propounds three points unto their Lordships, which much conduced to the establishment and advantage of the prejudiced Clergy. The first was, That all such of the Clergy as building on the common report, that the Tenths and First fruits were to be releas'd in the following Parliament, had made no compulsion for the same with her Majesties Officers, might be discharged from the penalty inflicted by the Laws in that behalf. The second, That their Lordships would be pleas'd to intercede with the Lord Cardinal-Legat, for settling and confirming them in their present Benefices by some special Bull. The third, That by their Lordships means, an Act may be obtained in the present Parliament, for the repealing of the Statute, by which the Citizens of *London*, which refused to make payment of their Tithes, were to be ordered at the discretion of the Lord Mayor of that City; And that from thenceforth, all such censures as concerned Tithes might be heard and determined by the Ordinary, as in other places. To all which Propositions the Bishops cheerfully consented, and so adjourn'd the Convocation from *St. Pauls* to *Westminster*, that they might have the better opportunity of consulting the Lord Cardinal in the business; of whom it was no hard matter to obtain the second, and by his power to secure the Clergy in the first; but as for the removall of the Cognisance of the *London* Tithes from the Lord Mayor unto the Bishops, there was nothing done, that Statute still remaining as before it did, to the continual impoverishing and vexation of the City Clergy. Nothing else memorable in this Convocation, but the coming in of the two new Bishops, which had never voted there before; *Puresew* the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, being translated unto *Hereford* in the former year, had made such havock of the Patrimony of the Church of *St. Asaph*, that it lay void above a twelve month before any became Suter for it. But being a Bishoprick, though impoverished, and consequently a step to some richer preferment, it was desired and accepted by Mr. *Thomas Goldnes*, a right zealous *Romanist*, consecrated Bishop hereof in the beginning of *October*, Anno 1555. not many days before the opening of the Parliament and Convocation. And being Bishop here, he procured many Indulgences and other Graces from the Pope then being, for all such persons of each sex, as went on Pilgrimage, or for health, to *St. Winifrids Well*. The like havock had been made of the Lands and Patrimony of the Church of *Bangor*, by *Buckley* the present Bishop of it, preferred unto this See Anno 1541. and continuing on it till this year; who not content to alienate the Lands, and weaken the Estate thereof, resolv'd to rob

rob it of its Bells, for fear perhaps of having any Knell rung out at the Churches Funeral. And not content to sell the Bells, which were five in number, he would needs satisfy himself with seeing them conveyed on ship-board, and had scarce given himself that satisfaction, but he was presently struck blind, and so continued from that time to the day of his death. To whom succeeded Doctor *William Glyn*, a Cambridge man, but one of the Disputants at *Oxford*, who received his Episcopal Consecration (if I guess aright) on the same day with Bishop *Goldwell*.

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And now it will be time to look back on *Cranmer*, whom we left under a Citation to the Court of *Rome*, without which, nothing could be done; for by an ancient privilege, no Judgment could be past upon the person of a Metropolitan, before the Pope have taken cognisance of the cause; and eighty days had seemingly been given to *Cranmer* for making his appearance in the Court of *Rome*. And though the Pope knew well enough, as well the Archbishops readiness to appear before him, if he were at liberty, as the impossibility of making any such appearance as the case then stood; yet at the end of the said eighty days, he is pronounced by the Pope to be contumacious, and for his contumacy to be Degraded, Excommunicated, and finally delivered over to the Secular Magistrate. According unto which Decree, a second Commission is directed to *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *London*, and *Thomas Thonby* Bishop of *Ely*, to proceed to the Degradation of the said Archbishop: In which Commission it was said with most horrible falshood, That all things had been so indifferently examined in the Court of *Rome*, that is to say, as well the Articles laid unto his charge, as the Answers which he made unto them, together with the Allegations, Witnesses, and Defences, made or produced by the Counsel on either side, so that nothing had been wanting which was necessary to his just defence. According to which supposition, the said two Bishops being commanded to proceed against him, caused him to be Degraded on the 14. th. of *February*, notwithstanding that he appealed from the Pope and them to a General Council, and caused the said Appeal to be drawn and offered in due form of Law. During the interval between his degradation and the time of his death, great pains was taken by some learned men in the University to persuade him to a Retraction of his former Opinions; in which unhappy undertaking, no man prevailed so far as a *Spanish* Friar, by whom it was suggested to him, How acceptable it would be to the King and Queen, how pleasing to the Lords, who most dearly loved him, and how gainfull to himself, in regard both of his soul and his temporal being; assuring him (or at least putting him in good hope) that he should not onely have his life, but be restored again to his ancient dignity, and that there should be nothing in the Realm which the Queen would not easily grant him, whether it pleased him to make choice of Riches and Honors, or otherwise should desire the sweet retirements of a private life, without the charge and trouble of a publick Ministry; and all this to be compassed without putting himself to any more pains, than the subscribing of his name to a piece of paper, which was made ready for his hand.

By these temptations, and many others of the like alluring and deceitfull nature, he suffered himself to be prevailed upon so far, as to sign the Writing, in which were briefly comprehended the chief points of Doctrine defended in the Church of *Rome*, and by him formerly condemned both in publick and private. The obtaining whereof occasioned great joy amongst the Papists, and no lesse sorrow and alonishment in the hearts of those, who cordially were affected to the Reformation. But all this could not save him from being made a sacrifice to revenge and avarice; The Queen had still a vindictive spirit against him, for the injury which she conceived had been done to her mother; and the Cardinal, who hitherto had enjoyed the profits of the See of *Canterbury* as an usufructuary, was altogether as solicitous for getting a right and title to them as the sole Proprietary; No way to pacifie the one, and satisfy

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the desires of the other, but by bringing him (when he least looked for it) to the fatal Stake. And to the fatal Stake they brought him on the 21 of *March*, when he had for some time flattered himself in a conceit, like the King of *Amaleck*, that the bitterness of death was past. Finding the contrary, he first retracts his Retraction, and after punisheth that hand which had subscribed it, by holding it forth into the flame, and suffering it to be consumed before the rest of his body had felt the fire. The residue of his body being burnt to ashes, his heart was found entire & untouched in the midst of theinders; Which possibly may serve as a witness for him, that his heart stood fast unto the Truth, though with his hand he had subscribed some Popish Errors: Which whether it were done out of human frailty on the hope of life, or out of a desire to gain the more time, for finishing his Book against Bishop *Gardiner*, which he alledged for himself in a Letter to one of his friends; Certain it is, that it had too much in it of a sinful compliance, so much as might have blasted both his fame and memory to all times succeeding, if he had not taken off the scandal, and expiated the offence in so brave a manner. And thus he dyed, leaving an excellent example to all posterity, as well of mans infirmity in so strange a fall, as of Gods infinite grace and mercy, by which he was enabled to recover his former standing.

These goodly Cedars of the Forest being thus cut down, it was not to be hoped that any favour could be shown to the Shrubs and Underwoods, which were grubbed up and felled without any distinction, as well the young Sapling, as the decayed and withered Tree; but more in some parts than in others, according to the sharpness of the Tools and the edge of the Woodman. The waste so great in no place as in *Bonner's walk*, who seemed to be resolved, that whatsoever could not serve for Timber (toward the building or re-edifying of the Papal palace) should be mark'd for Fuel. No fewer than two hundred are reported to have been burnt within three years, by this cruel and unmerciful Tyrant, without discrimination of sex or age; his fury reaching from *John Felty*, a lad of eight years old, by him scourged to death, even to *Hugh Lavercok*, a cripple sixty eight years old, whom he caused to be burned. The most eminent of all which number was Mr. *John Philpot*, Archbishop of *Winchester*, who though of *Gardiners* Diocese, was condemned by *Bonner*, *Gardiner* being well enough contented to find out the Game, and leave it to be followed by that bloody Hunter: His rage not slackened by the interposings of *Alphonso a Spanish Friar*, inveighing sharply, in a Sermon before the King, against the savage and unprofitable cruelty of the English Bishops; but as it seems, he measured all the rest by that London-Tyrant, though in most other places they were far more moderate: He that came nearest to him was Doctor *John Christopherson*, Bishop of *Chichester*, who is recorded to have burnt no less than ten in one fire at *Lewis*, and seventeen others at several times in sundry places. But still the nearer London, the more the heat; inasmuch that *Harpisfield* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Thornion* the Suffragan of *Dover*, are said to have poured out blood like water; As was also done by *Giffin* of *Rocheſter*, and *Downing* Chancellor of *Norwich*, (though somewhat further off from the scene of cruelty) in their several Dioceses. Which character I find of Bishop *Bis* of *Coven*try and *Lichfield*; the gentle birth and breeding of Mrs. *Joyce Lewis* not being too high for him to reach at, nor the poor condition of *Joan Wast*, a blind woman in *Darby*, too low for him to stoop too, whom he condemned unto the fire, as he did many faithful Ministers, and others of the Masculine sex.

But on the other side, in all the Province of *York*, I find none brought unto the Stake but *George March* of *Chester*, condemned thereto by Bishop *Coles*; and not much more to have been done in the four *Welsh* Dioceses; in which, besides the burning of Bishop *Farrar* at *Carmarthen* by Bishop *Morgan*; and of *Rawlins* and *White* at *Cardiff* by Bishop *Kitching*; no extraordinary cruelty seems to have been acted. In the Dioceses of *Exeter*, *Wells*, *Peterborough*,

brough and Lincoln (though this last the greatest in the Kingdome) I find mention but of one apiece; of two in that of *Ely*, and of no more than three apiece at *Bristol* and *Salisbury*. In those of *Oxon*, *Glocester*, *Warcester* and *Hereford*, I find none at all, which made those Counties look like the land of *Goshen*, where there was nothing but fair weather, when there was so much thunder and lightning in the rest of *Aegypt*. Nor were these storms and tempests in other places, of a short continuance, but held on more or less till the death of the Queen, as appeareth by those five persons which were burnt at *Canterbury* on the 10th. of November 1558. being but one full week before the day of her own dissolution. The difference was, that these poor wretches were consumed by the rage of fire, whereas she was carried out of the world in a deluge of water; falling into a Drop sic in the time of her supposed childing, of which she was never perfectly cured till she came to her grave. Nor were these all that suffered in the fury of this persecution. For besides those that suffered Martyrdome in the sight of the world, many are thought to have been made away in prison; but many more, to the number of some scores or hundreds, supposed to have been killed by starving, stinks, and other barbarous usages in their several Jayls. To which if we should add a Catalogue of all those who fled the Kingdome, and put themselves into a voluntary exile, amounting to the number of 800. or thereabouts, I suppose it may be well concluded, that though many persecutions have lasted longer, yet none since *Dioclesian's* time ever raged so terribly. So terribly it raged in one particular, that no persecution of the ten can afford a parallel. *Katherine Gouches*, a poor widow of *St Peter's* Port in the Isle of *Guernsey*, was noted to be much absent from the Church, and her two daughters guilty of the same neglect. Upon this they were presented before *Jaques Amy*, then Dean of the Island, who finding in them that they held opinions contrary to those then allowed, about the Sacrament of the Altar, pronounced them Hereticks, and condemned them to the fire. The poor women on the one side pleaded for themselves, that that doctrine had been taught them in the time of *King Edward*; but if the Queen was otherwise disposed, they were content to be of her Religion. This was fair, but this would not serve; for by the Dean they were delivered to *Eli'er Gosling*, the then Bayliff, and by him unto the fire, July the 8th. 1556. One of the daughters (*Peroine Maffey* she was called) was at that time great with child; her husband a Minister being in those dangerous times fled the Island; In the middle of the flames and anguish of her torments, her belly brake in sunder, and her child, a goodly boy, fell down into the fire, but was presently snatched up by one *W. Ho se*, one of the By-standers. Upon the noise of this strange accident, the cruel Bayliff returned command, that the poor infant must be cast again into the flames; which was accordingly performed; and so that pretty babe was born a Martyr, and added to the number of the *Holy innocents*. A cruelty not parallel'd in any story, not heard of amongst the Nations. But such was the pleasure of the Magistrate, as once in the Massacre of the younger *Maximinus*, viz. that not any issue should be left of an Heretick Parent.

But to go back again to *Cranmer*, it is to be observed, that as his death opened the way for *Pole* to the See of *Canterbury*, so it was respited the longer out of a politic design to exclude him from it. That *Gardiner* loved him not, hath been said before, and he knew well that Cardinal *Carrassa* (now Pope *Paul* the 4th.) loved him less than he. This put him first upon an hope, that the Pope might be prevailed with to revoke the Cardinal (who had before been under a suspicion in the Court of *Rome*, of having somewhat of the *Lutheran* in him) and to bestow the Cardinal's Cap, together with the *Legatine* power, upon himself, who doubted not of sitting in the chair of *Canterbury* if he gained the rest. Upon which ground he is supposed to have hindered all proceedings against the three *Oxon* Martyrs, from the ending of the Parliament on the 26th. of *January*, till the 12th. of *September* then next following, the Pope

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* *Canis pessimi
ne catulam re-
linquendum.*

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not sending out any Commission in all that interval, without which *Cranmer* was not to be brought to a condemnation. But at the last, not knowing how much these procrastinations might offend the King, and perhaps preit unto it by *Karn*, the Queen's Ambassadour, he found himself under a necessity to dispatch the Commission, though he proceeded not to the execution of any part of the sentence, till more than ten weeks after the 80 dayes, which had been given for his appearance in the Court of *Rome*.

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During which time, death puts an end to *Gardiners* projects, who left his life at *Whitehal* on the 12th. of *November*. From whence conveyed by water to his house in *Southwark*, his body was first lapt in lead, kept for a season in the Church of *St Mary Over-Rhe*, and afterwards solemnly interred under a fair and goodly Monument in his Cathedral. The custody of the Great Seal, together with the Title of Lord Chancellor, was upon New years day conferred on Dr *Nicholas Heath*, Archbishop of *York*, a man of great prudence and moderation; but the revenues of the Bishoprick were appropriated to the use of the Cardinal Legate, who purposed to have held it in *Commendam* with the See of *Canterbury*, to which he received consecration on the very next Sunday after *Cranmer's* death. But Dr *John White* Bishop of *Lincoln*, having been born at *Winchester*, and educated in that School, of which he was afterwards chief Master, and finally Warden of that College, ambitiously affected a translation thither. And so far he prevailed by his friends at Court, that on the promise of an annual pension of 1000 l. to the use of the Cardinal, he was permitted to enjoy the Title with the rest of the profits. Which I have mentioned in this place, though this transaction was not made, nor his translation actually performed till the year next following. No other alteration made amongst the Bishops of this time, but that *Vossie* of *Exon*, dies in some part of the year, 1555. and Dr *James Thiberville* succeeds him in the beginning of the year 1556. A man well born, and well befriended, by means whereof he recovered some lands unto his See, which had been alienated from it by his predecessor; and amongst others, the rich and goodly Mannors of *Credinson*, or *Kirton*, in the County of *Devon*, (in former times the Episcopal seat of the Bishop of *Exon*) though afterwards again dismembred from it in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, by Bishop *Cotton*.

It is now time to take into consideration the affairs of State, nothing the better cemented by the blood of so many Martyrs, or jointed any whit the stronger by the secret animosities and emulations between the Lord Chancellor and the Cardinal Legate. Though *Wiat's* party was so far suppressed, as not to shew it self visibly in open action, yet such as formerly had declared for it, or wish'd well unto it, had many secret writings against the Queen, every day growing more and more in dislike of her Government, by reason of so many butcheries as were continually committed under her authority. Upon which ground as they had formerly instructed *Elizabeth Crofts* to act the spirit in the wall; so afterwards they trained up one *William Cuffstable*, alias *Featherstone*, to take upon himself the name of King *Edward*, whom he was said to have resembled, both in age and personage. And this they did in imitation of the like practice used in the time of King *Henry* the 6th. by *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, who when he had a mind to claim his Title to the Crown, in regard of his descent by the House of *Mortimer*, from *Lionel* of *Anwerp* Duke of *Clarence*, he caused one *Jack Cade* (a fellow altogether as obscure as this) to take upon himself the name of *Mortimer*, that he might see how well the people stood affected unto his pretensions, by the discovery which might be made thereof on this false allurum. And though this *Featherstone* had been taken and publicly whip'd for it in *May* last past, and thereupon banished into the *North*, where he had been born; yet the confederats resolved to try their fortune with him in a second adventure. The design was to raise the people under colour of King *Edward's* being alive, and at the same time to rob the Exchequer, wherein they knew by some intelligence or other, that 50000 l.

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in good *Spanish* money had been lately looded. Few persons of any quality appeared in it, not thinking fit to shew themselves in any new practice against the Queen, till made prosperous by some good success. The chief whom I find mentioned to be privy to it, were *Henry Peckam*, the son of that Sir *Edmond Peckam*, who had been caterer of the household to King *Henry* the 8th. one of the *Throgmorton's*, and Sir *Anthony Kingston*. But the first part of the plot miscarried by the apprehending of *Featherstone*, who was arraigned and executed on the 13th. of *March*; and the last part thereof discovered on the 28th. by one of the company. On which discovery Sir *Anthony Kingston* being sent for, died upon the way; the said *Throgmorton*, with one *Adail*, were executed at *Tyburn* on the 28th. of *April*, one *Stanton* on the 29th. of *May*; *Rosedike* and *Bedell*, on the 8th of *June*; *Peckam* and *Daniel* at the Tower hill, on the 8th. of *July*. *Andrew Duchesne* makes the Lord *Gray*, and one of the *Howards*, to have a hand in this conspiracy; and possibly enough it is, that some of greater eminence than any of those before remembered, might be of counsel in the practice, though they kept themselves out of sight as much as they could, till they found how it would succeed amongst the people.

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In this unquicker condition we must leave *England* for a time, and look on the estate of the *English* Churches on the other side of the sea. That many of the *English* Protestants had forsook the Kingdom, to the number of 800. as well Students as others, hath been said before; who having put themselves into several Cities, partly in *Germany*, and partly among the *Switzers*, and their confederates, kept up the face and form of an *English* Church, in each of their several congregations. Their principal retiring places amongst the last, were *Arrow*, *Zurick*, and *Geneva*, and in the first, the Cities of *Embsen*, *Siralsburge*, and *Franckfort*. In *Franckfort* they enjoyed the greatest privileges, and therefore resorted thither in the greatest numbers, which made them the more apt unto Schisms and factions. At their first coming to that place, which was on the 27th. of *June*, Anno 1554. by the power and favour of *John Glasberge*, one of the Senators of that City, they were permitted to have the use of one of their Churches, which had before been granted to such *French* exiles, as had repaired thither on the like occasion; yet so, that the *French* were still to hold their right; the *English* to have the use of it one day. and the *French* another, and on the Lords day so to divide the hours between them, that the one might be no hinderance unto the other. It hath been said also, that there was another condition imposed upon them, of being conform unto the *French* in Doctrine and Ceremonies. Which condition if it were imposed by the Magistrates, not fought by themselves, must needs be very agreeable to the temper and complexion of their principal Leaders; who being for the most part of the *Zuinglian*-Gospellers, at their going hence, became the great promoters of the *Puritan* faction at their coming home. The names of *Whittingham*, *Williams*, *Goodman*, *Wood* and *Sutton*, who appeared in the head of this congregation, declare sufficiently of what Principles and Strain they were, how willing they would be to lay aside the face of an *English* Church, and frame themselves to any Liturgie but their own.

On *July* the 14th. they first obtained a grant of their Church, and on the 29th. took possession of it. The interval they spent in altering and disfiguring the *English* Lyrurgie, of which they left nothing but the reading of the Psalms and Chapters. Those comfortable interlocutories between the Minister and the People, were no longer used, as favouring in their opinion, of some disorder in the course of the ministration; the *Lerany* and the *Surplices* they cast aside, as having too much in them of the Church of *Rome*; the *Confession* they had altered so, as they conceived most agreeable to their present condition; and for the Hymns which intervened between the Chapters and the Creed, they changed them for such Psalms in the *English* Meeter, as had been made by *Sternhold* and *Hopkins* in the time of King *Edward*. The Psalm being done, the Preacher goes into the Pulpit, in which the Minister prayed for the assistance of

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of God's Spirit, and so proceeded to the Sermon. Which done, an other Prayer was made for all orders and estates of men, but more particularly for the welfare of the Church of England; composed in imitation of the Prayer for the Church Militant here on earth, but ending (as that did not) with the *Pater noster*. After which (most extremely out of order) followed the rehearsal of the Articles of the Christian Faith, another Psalm, and finally the dismissal of the people, with *The Peace of God*. This was the form devised for that Congregation, for the imposing whereof on all the rest of the English Churches, they did then use their best endeavours, and for obtruding which on the whole Church of England they raised such tumults and commotions in the following times. Growing in love with this fair Babe of their own begetting, they write their Letters of the second of August to such of the English as remained at *Strasbourg* and *Zurick*, inviting them to repair to *Frankfort*, and unite themselves unto that Church, which had been there erected with the leave of the Magistrate. But they had heard in both places of those Alterations which had been made at *Frankfort*, in the form of Gods publick Service, and thereupon refused to accept of the invitation, though it seemed to promise them some advantages by the commodious situation of that City in respect of England, the great resort of strangers thither at the yearly *Marts*, plenty of Books, and other helps in the way of study, which were not to be found in the other two Cities. From *Strasbourg* modestly, from *Zurick* resolutely, but from both it was plainly signified, that they resolved to maintain the Order of the Church of England. The like Letter had been writ to the English at *Embsen*, of which Congregation Doctor *Scory*, the late Bishop of *Chichester*, was the Super-intendent; and we may readily believe, that they received the like repulse from his Church at *Embsen*, as they had from *Grynald*, *Sandys*, and *Hadden*, or who had the constituting of the Church of *Strasbourg*; or from *Horn*, *Chambers*, *Parkhurst*, and other of the Students which remained at *Zurick*.

The noise of this new Church at *Frankfort* occasioned *Knox*, who after proved the great incendiary of the Realm and Church of Scotland, to leave his Sanctuary in *Geneva*, in hope to make a better market for himself in that Congregation. He had not long before published a seditious Pamphlet, entituled, *The first blast of the Trumpet*, in which he bitterly inveighed against the Government of Women, aiming there especially at the three Queen *Maries*, that is to say, *Mary* Queen of England, *Mary* Queen of Scots, and *Mary* of Lorraine Queen Regent of Scotland. By which seditious Pamphlet, he had made not onely his own Country too hot for him, but could assure himself of no safety in France or England. To *Geneva* therefore he retires, and from thence removes to *Frankfort*, as the fitter Scene for his intendments, hoping to get as great a name in this new Plantation, as *Calvin* had gotten in the old. It was about the end of September that he came to *Frankfort*, where he took the charge of that Church upon him, *Whittingham* and the rest submitting unto his Apostleship. This gave a new dis-satisfaction to the English at *Strasbourg* and *Zurick*, who knew the spirit of the man, and feared the dangerous consequences and effects thereof. Nor was the condition of affairs much bettered by the coming of *Whitehead*, (who afterwards refused the Archbishopric of *Canterbury*) though far the more moderate of the two. New Letters are reciprocated between *Frankfort* and *Zurick*; from *Frankfort* on the 15th, of November, in open defiance as it were to the English Liturgy; from *Zurick* on the 28th. in defence thereof, and of their constancy and resolution for adhering to it. The breach growing every day more wide than other, *Grynald* and *Chambers* came from *Strasbourg* to atone the difference, by whom it was proposed unto them, That the substance of the English Liturgy being retained, there might be a forbearance of some ceremonies and offices in it. But *Knox* and *Whittingham* were as much bent against the substance of the Book, as against any of the circumstances and extrinsics which belonged unto it. So that no good effect

effect following on this interposition, the Agents of the Church of *Strasbourg* return back to their brethren, who by their Letters of the 13th. of December expostulate in vain about it.

In these distractions, some of the *Frankfort* Schismatics desire, that all divine Offices might be executed according to the order of the Church of *Geneva*; which *Knox* would by no means yield unto, thinking himself as able to make a Rule for his own Congregation, as any *Catholick* of them all. But that the mouths of those of *Strasbourg* and *Zurich* might be stopped for ever, he is content to make so much use of him, as by the authority of his judgment to disgrace that Liturgy, which those of *Zurich* did contend for. He knew well how he had belittled himself in quarrelling the first Liturgy of King *Edward* the 6th. and nothing doubting, but that the second (though reviewed on his importunity) would give him as little satisfaction as the other did. To this intent, the Order of the *English Liturgy* is drawn up in Latine, transmitted to him by *Knox* and *Whittingham*, by his infallible judgment to stand or fall. The Oracle returns this answer on the 31 of January, (*In Liturgia Anglicana qualem mihi describitis multas vidio tolerabiles ineptias*) That in the Book of *England* as by them described, he had observed many tolerable *foibles*. Which last words being somewhat ambiguous, as all Oracles are, he explicates himself by telling them, "a That there wanted much of that purity which was to be desired in it; b that it contained many relics of the dregs of Popery; that being there was no manifest impiety in it, it had been tolerated for a season, because at first it could not otherwise be admitted: But howsoever, though it was lawful to begin with such beggarly rudiments, yet it behoved the learned, grave, and godly Ministers of Christ to endeavour farther, and set forth something more refined from filth and routine. This being sent for his determinate sentence unto *Knox* and *Whittingham*, was of such prevalency with all the rest of that party, that such who formerly did approve, did afterwards as much dislike the *English Liturgy*; and those who at the first had conceived onely a dislike, grew afterwards into an open detestation of it. Those who before had been desirous that the Order of *Geneva* should be entertained, had now drawn *Knox* and *Whittingham* unto them, Mr. *John Fox* (the Author of the *Acts and Monuments*) contributing his approbation amongst the rest. But in the end, to give content to such as remained affected to the former Liturgy, it was agreed upon, That a mixt Form, consisting partly of the Order of *Geneva*, and partly of the Book of *England*, should be digested and received till the first of April; consideration in the mean time to be had of some other course which should be permanent, and obliging for the time to come.

In this condition of affairs, Doctor *Richard Cox*, the late Dean of *Christ Church* and *Westminster*, first Schoolmaster, and after *Almoner* to King *Edward* the sixth, pattereth himself into *Frankfort* March 13. accompanied with many *English* Exiles, whom the cause of Religion had necessitated to forsake their Country. Being a man of great learning, of great authority in the Church, and one that had a principal hand in drawing up the Liturgy by Law established; he could with no patience endure those innovations in it, or rather that rejection of it, which he found amongst them. He thereupon first begins to answer the Minister contrary to the Order there agreed on, and the next Sunday after causeth one of his company to go into the Pulpit and read the *Lecany*. Against which doings of his, *Knox* in a Sermon the same day inveigheth most bitterly, affirming many things in the Book of *England* not onely to be imperfect, but superstitious. For the which he is not onely rebuked by *Cox*, but forbidden to preach. Wherewith *Whittingham* being much offended, deals with some of the Magistrates, from whom he procurerh an Order of the 22 of March, requiring, That the *English* should conform themselves to the Rules of the *French*. *Knox* had not long before published a seditious Pamphlet, entitled, *An Admonition to Christians*, containing the substance of some Sermons by

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a Non est expur-
tus que op-
tand. c. et.
b Ex his Papi-
stica reliquiis.

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by him preached in *Eng. and*, in one of which, he affirmed the Emperor to be no less an enemy to Christ than the Tyrant Nero. For this, and several other passages of the like dangerous nature, he is accused by Cox for Treason against the Emperor; the Senate made acquainted with it, and Knox commanded thereupon to depart the City, who makes his Farewell-Sermon on the 25th. of March, and retires himself unto *Geneva*. Following his blow, Cox gets an order of the Senate, by the means of another of the *Glanberges*, by which *Whittingham* and the rest of his faction were commanded to receive the Book of *England*. Against which order, *Whittingham* for a time opposeth, encouraged therein by *Goodman*, who for the love of Knox (with whom afterwards he associated in all his practices) had left the grave society of those of *Stralsburg*, to joyn himself unto the Sectaries of *Frankfort*. But finding Cox to be too strong for them in the Senate, both they and all the rest who refused conformity, resolved to betake themselves to some other place, as they shortly did.

Cox thus made Master of the field, begins to put the Congregation into such order, as might preserve the face and reputation of an English Church. He procures *Whithead* to be chosen for the principal Pastor, appoints two Ministers for Elders, and four Deacons for assistants to him, recommends Mr. *Robert Horn* (whom he had drawn from *Zurich* thither) to be Hebrew-Reader, *Mullings* to read the Greek Lecture, *Traburn* the Lecture in Divinity, and *Chambers* to be Treasurer for the Contributions, which were sent in from time to time by many godly and well affected persons, both Dutch and English, for the use of that Church. Having thus settled all things answerable to his own desires, he gives an account thereof to *Calvin*, subscribed by fourteen of the chief men in that Congregation, partly excusing themselves that they had proceeded so far without his consent, and partly rejoicing, that they had drawn the greatest part of that Church to their own opinions. *Calvin* returns his Answer on the last of May, which puts his party there on another project, that is to say, to have the whole business referred to some Arbitrators, equally chosen on both sides. But Cox was already in possession, great in esteem with the chief Magistrates of the City, and would by no means yield to refer that point, which had already been determined to his advantage. With these debates the time is taken up till the end of August, at what time *Whittingham* and the rest of the faction take their leave of *Frankfort*; Cox with some few others go to *Basil*, but the main body to *Geneva* as their Mother-City, where they make choice of *Knox* and *Goodman* for their constant Preachers; under which Ministry they reject the whole frame and fabrick of the Reformation made in *England*, conformed themselves wholly to the fashions of the Church of *Geneva*, and therewith entertain also the Calvinian Doctrines, to the discredit of the state of the Church of *England* in King *Edward's* time, the great grief of the Martyrs and other godly men in the reign of Queen *Mary*, and to the raising of most unquenchable combustions in all parts of the Church, under Queen *Elizabeth*.

It was not long after the settling of the Liturgie, before *Whithead* left the Ministry of the English Congregation, which Cox obtained for Mr. *Horn*, whom he knew to be a man both of courage & constancy. And that being done, he left the Congregation, and so withdraws himself to *Stralsburg*, there to enjoy the company of *Peter Martyr*, with whom he was intimately acquainted while he lived in *Christ-Church*. By his departure, a new gap is opened to another dissention. Some words had passed at a supper, intended rather for increase of charity, than the breach of friendship, betwixt *Horn* and *Ashley*; *Horn* the chief Pastor of the flock, and *Ashley* a Gentleman of good note in the Lay part of it. Some three dayes after being the 16th. of January, *Ashley* is cited to appear at the house of one of the Elders, to answer for some words which he had spoken in contempt of the Ministry. But from the Elders, he appeals to the Congregation, amongst whom he prevails so far, that they send a message by two of their

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their company to the Pastor and Elders, requiring them to proceed no further in the cause. *Horn* being backed by *Chambers*, the publick Treasurer, excepts against this message, as decreed at a private Conventicle, not by the general suffrages of the Congregation, and thereupon resolves to stand to that Authority which formerly had been conferred on him and the rest of the Elders, by the Rules of their Discipline. *Ashley* and his adherents on the other side, declare their former private meeting not to be a Conventicle, protest against the Pastor and Elders, as an adverse party, and therefore not in a capacity to sit as Judges in the present case, and set themselves upon the making of a Book of Discipline, for the curbing the exorbitant power (for such they thought it) of the Pastor and Elders. The Pastor and Elders thereupon forsake their Offices, and on the 5th. of *February*, being the next day of publick meeting, take place amongst the rest as private persons; The Congregation full, but the Pulpit empty, which put the rest upon a humour of electing others to take the publick charge upon them. The noise of these disorders awakes the Magistrates, who command *Horn* and *Chambers* to forbear the congregation, until further Order, and afterwards restoring them to their former authority by publick Edict, were contradicted in it by *Ashley's* party, who having got some power into their hands, were resolved to keep it.

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In the meantime, a Book of Discipline had been drawn and tendered to the Congregation, on the 14th. of *February*. According to the Rules whereof, the supreme power in all Ecclesiastical causes was put into the hands of the Congregations, and the disposing of the publick monies committed to the trust of certain Officers, by the name of Deacons. This makes the breach wider than before, *Horn* and his party labouring to retain the old, the other to establish the new Discipline of their own devising. The Magistrates not able to agree the difference, dispatch their Letters unto *Siralsburge* of the 3d. of *April*, desiring *Dr Cox* and *Dr Sandys*, together with *Robert Bertie*, Esq; to undertake the closing of the present rupture. To their arbitrement each party is content to submit the controversy, but differ in conclusion, in the terms of their Reference. Much talk, and no small scandal groweth upon these divisions, nor made the less by the Pen-combats between *Horn* and *Whitehead*. In the end, a form of reconciliation is drawn up by some of the *English*, who more endeavoured the peace of the Church, than the interests of either party. But those who stood for the new Discipline being grown the stronger, refused to submit themselves to any establishment, by which the power of the diffusive body of the Congregation might be called in question. Whereupon *Horn* and *Chambers* depart to *Siralsburge*, from whence *Chambers* writ his Letters to them of the 20th. of *June*, and after, of the 30th. of *July*, but to no effect. They had before proceeded to the election of some new Ministers, *March* the 22d. Against which, though *Horn* and his opposed, yet they concluded it for the present, on the 29th. and now they mean to stand unto the conclusion, let *Horn* and *Chambers* go or tarry, as best pleased themselves. Such were the troubles and disorders in the Church of *Frankfort*, occasioned first by a dislike of the publick Liturgy, before which they preferred the nakedness and simplicity of the *French* and *Genevian* Churches, and afterwards continued, by the opposition made by the general body of the Congregation, against such as were appointed to be Pastors and Rulers over them. Hence the beginning of the Puritan faction, against the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church; that of the Presbyterians against the Bishops, or Episcopall Government; and finally that also of the Independents, against the superintendency of the Pastors and Elders. The terrible effects whereof will appear hereafter, if God shall give me means and opportunity to carry on the History of those disturbances which have been raised by the Puritans or Presbyterians, against the Orders of this Church, and the peace of Christendome.

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But sorrows seldom go alone, the aberrations from the Government, and Form, and Worship, established in the Church of *England*, drew on an alteration

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tion also in point of Doctrine. Such of the *English* as had retired into *Geneva*, imploy themselves in setting out a new Translation of the Bible in the *English* Tongue, which afterwards they published with certain marginal Notes upon it, mozt of them profitable for the understanding of the Text, but so that some were heterodox in point of Doctrine, some dangerous, and seditious, in reference to the Civil Magistrate, and some as scandalous in respect of Episcopal Government. From this time the Calvinian Doctrine of Predestination began to be dispersed in *English* Pamphlets, as the only necessary, Orthodox, and saving truth. Knox publisheth a book *Against an adversary of God's predestination*, wherein it is declared, *That whatsoever the Ethnickes and ignorant d.d attribute to Fortune, by Christians is to be assigned to God's heavenly providence; that we ought to judge nothing to come of Fortune, but that all cometh by the determinate counsel of God; and finally, that it would be displeasing unto God, if we should esteem any thing to proceed from any other; and that we do not only behold him as the principal cause of all things, but also the author, appointing all things to the one or the other by his only counsel.* After comes out a Book first written in *French*, and afterwards by some of them translated into *English*, which they called *A brief Declaration of the Table of predestination*, in which it is put down for a principal Aphorism, that in like manner, as God hath appointed the end, it is necessary also, that God should appoint the causes leading to the same end; but more particularly, that by virtue of God's will all things are done; yea, even those things which are evil and execrable. In another book Entituled *Against a priuie Papist*, it is maintained more agreeably to Calvin's Doctrine, *That all evil springeth of Gods Ordinance, and that God's predestination was the cause of Adam's fall, and of all wickednesses.* And in a fourth book published by Robert Crowley, who afterwards was Rector of the Church of St Giles's nere Cripple-gate, Entituled *The confutation of 13 Articles*, &c. it is said expressly, *That Adam being so perfect a creature, that there was in him no lust to sin, and yet so weak, that of himself he was not able to withstand the assaults of the subtil Serpent; that therefore there can be no remedy, but that the only cause of his fall, must needs be the predestination of God.* In which book it is also said, *That the most wicked persons that have been, were of God appointed to be even as wicked as they were; and finally, that if God do predestinate man to do things rashly, and without any deliberation, he shall not deliberate at all, but run headlong upon it, be it good or evil.* By which defenders of the absolute decree of reprobation, as God is made to be the Author of sin, either in plain terms or undeniable consequence; so from the same men, and the *Genevian* Pamphlets by them dispersed, our *English Calvinists* had borrowed all their grounds and principles on which they build the absolute and irrelative decree of Predestination, contrary to the Doctrine publickly maintained and taught in the time of King Edward.

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IT is now time that we set sail again for *England*, which we left flaming with the fire of Persecutions, and the whole body of the State not a little inflamed with a spirit of treason and sedition; the lazt ill spirit well allayed by the execution of the chief Conspirators, the other fire not quenched by the blood of the Martyrs, which rather served as oyle to nourish, than as water to extinguish the outrageousness of it. But the Queen hoped to salve the matter on her part by some works of piety, as the restoring of such Church Lands as were in the Crown, for the endowment of some new Convents of Moncks and Friars. But first she thought it necessary to communicate her purpose unto some of the Council, and therefore calling to her the Lord Treasurer Paulet, Inglefield Master of the Wards, Rochester Comptroller of her Household, and Master Secretary Peter, who seemed to be most concerned in it, by their several places, she is said to have spoken to them in these following words:

Then

Thus are here of Our Counsell, and We have willed you to be called to Us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the Lands and Possessions, as well of Monasteries, as of other Churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession. First I do consider that the said Lands were taken away from the Churches aforesaid, in time of Schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the Law of God and of the Church; For the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them. And therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or retain the said Lands for mine, but with all my heart freely and willingly without all passion or condition, here and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said Lands and possessions or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy Lord the Pope, or else his Legate, the Lord Cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our Realm. And albeit you may object to me again, that considering the State of my Kingdom, the dignity thereof, and my Crown Imperial, cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid; yet notwithstanding (and so she had affirmed before, when she was bent upon the restitution of the Tithes and first Fruits) I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten such Kingdoms; and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold, after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given me an husband likewise minded, with no lesse good affection in this behalf, than I am myself. Wherefore I charge and command that my Chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four to morrow do resort together to the most Reverend Lord Legate, and do signifie to him the premises in my Name; and give your attendance upon him, for the more full declaration of the State of my Kingdom, and of the aforesaid possessions accordingly, as you your selves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same.

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Upon this opening of her mind, the Lords perceived it would be to no purpose to perswade the contrary, and therefore thought it requisite to direct some course wherein the might satisfie her desires to her own great honour, and yet not alienate too much at once of the publick Patrimony. The Abby of Westminster had been founded in a Convent of Benedictines, or black Monks, by King Edward the Confessor; valued at the suppression by King Henry the 8th. at the yearly sum of 3977. pounds, in good old rents, Anno 1539. At what time having taken to himself the best and greatest part of the Lands thereof, he founded with the rest a Collegiat Church, consisting of a Dean and secular Canons; Benson the last Abbot, being made the first Dean of this new erection. To Benson succeeded Dr Cox, and to him was substituted Dr Weston in the first of this Queen. And being preferred unto the place by her special favour, 'twas conceived to be no hard matter to perswade him to make a surrendry of his Church into the hands of the Queen, that so it might return to its former nature, and be erected into a Convent of Benedictines, without any charge unto the Crown. And this they thought would be the easier brought to pass, because by the preferment of Dr Owen Ogleshorp to the See of Carlisle, the Deanry of Windsor would be void, which was considered as a sufficient compensation, if bestowed on Weston, for his surrendry of the other. But they found a greater difficulty in it than was first imagin'd, Weston appearing very backward in conforming to the Queens desires, partly out of a dislike which he had of the project (he being one that never liked the profession of Monckery) and partly out of an affection which he had to the place feared so opportunely for the Court and all publick businesses. But at the last he yielded to that opportunity which he was not able to resist, and thereby gained so much displeasure from the Cardinal Legate, that before the end of the next year, Anno 1557. he was outed of his Deanry of Windsor, and all his other Ecclesiastical promotions, upon an information of his being taken in the act of adultery, which otherwise perhaps might have been pardoned or conniv'd at in him,

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him, as in many others. But willing or unwilling he had first surrender'd the Church of *Westminster*, which the Queen stocked with a new Convent of *Benedictines*, consisting of an Abbot and fourteen Monks, which with their officers, were as many as the Lands then left unto it could well maintain. And for the first Abbot, she made choice of Dr *John Fecknam*, a learned, grave, and moderate man, whom she had formerly made Dean of *St Paul's*, in the place of Dr *William May*, and now made choice of Dr *Henry Cole*, Arch-Deacon of *Ely*, and Prolocutor of the Convocation, Anno 1555. to succeed him in it.

It was upon the 21 of *November*, that the new Abbot and his Monks entered on the possession of their ancient Convent, which they held not fully out three years, when it was once again dissolved by Act of Parliament, of which more hereafter. Which fate befel the rest of her foundations also, two of which cost her little more than this at *Westminster*. A Convent of *Observants* (being a reformed Order of *Franciscan* Friars) had been founded by King *Henry* the 7th. near the Mannor of *Greenwich*, and was the first which felt the fury of King *Henry* the 8th. by reason of some open opposition made by some of the Friars in favour of Queen *Katherine*, the mother of the Queen now reigning. Which moved her in a pious gratitude, to re-edifie that ruined house, and to restore as many as could be found of that Order, to their old habitations; making up their Corporation with some new *Observants*, to a competent number. She gathered together also a new Convent of *Dominicans*, or *black Friars*, for whom she provided an house in *Smithfield*, in the City of *London*, fitting the same with all conveniences both for divine Offices, and other necessary uses. And having done this, she was at no more charges with either of them; for both the *Observants* and *Dominicans* being begging Fryers, might be resembled not unfitly to a swarm of Bees, which being provided of an hive, are left to make their combs, and raise themselves a livelihood by their natural industry.

But so she went not off in her other foundations, which were to be provided of some proportionable endowment out of the revenues of the Crown, towards their support. At *Sion* nere *Bremford*, in the County of *Middlesex*, there had been anciently a house of religious women, Nuns of the Order of *St Bridget*, dissolv'd as were all the rest, by King *Henry* the 8th. Most of the old ones dead, and the younger married. Yet out of such of the old Nuns as remained alive, and the addition of some others, who were willing to embrace that course of life, a competent number was made up for a new Plantation; but seated as before at *Sion*, which the Queen repaired, and laid unto it a sufficient estate in Lands for their future maintenance. Which house being afterwards dissolved also by Queen *Elizabeth*, came first to the possession of Sir *Thomas Perrot*, who gave it to his wife, the Lady *Dorothy*, one of the daughters of *Walter Devereux*, Earl of *Essex*; by whom, being after married to *Henry* Lord *Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, it was left for a retiring house to that Noble Family, who do still enjoy it. At *Sheen* on the other side of the water; there had been anciently another religious house, not far from a mansion of the Kings, to which they much resorted till the building of *Richmond*. This house she stock'd with a new Convent of *Carthusians* (corruptly called the *Charter-house* Monks) which she endowed with a revenue great enough to maintain that Order, which profess more abstemiousness in diet, and sparingness of expence in all other things, than any others which embraced a Monastical life. And the next year having closed up the West end of the Quire or Chancel of the Church of *St Johns* near *Smithfield* (which was all the Protector *Sommersey* had left standing of it) she restored the same to the Hospitalry of Knights of *St John*, to whom it formerly belonged, assigning a liberal endowment to it for their more honourable subsistence. Over whom she placed Sir *Thomas Tresham* for the first Lord Prior, a Gentleman of an ancient Family, and one that had deserv'd exceeding well of her, in defence of her claim against Queen *Jane*, who on the 30th. of *November*, 1557. received the Order of the *Crosse* at *Westminster*,
and

and took possession of his place ; which having scarce warmed, he was taken from it by the stroke of death, and left it by the Queen to be disposed of to Sir Richard Shelle, the last great Master of that Order in the Realm of England.

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But this expiring with the rest, within two years after, there remained nothing of all Queen Mary's foundations, but her new Hospital in the Savoy. An Hospital had formerly been founded in that House by her Grandfather King Henry the seventh, for the relief of such pilgrims, as either went on their Devotions to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury, or any other eminent Shrine or Saint in those parts of the Kingdom. On a suggestion made to King Edward the sixth, that it served onely for a receptracle of vagrant persons, it was surrendered to him in the last year of his Reign by the Master and Brethren of the same ; out of the Lands whereof he assigned the yearly Rent of seven hundred Marks for the maintenance of his new working house of Bridewel, which he had given for ever to the Lord Mayor and City of London, as hath been signified before in the life of that King, (together with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture, which were found in this Hospital.) And though this Grant bare date on the 26 of June, in the last year of his Reign, Anno 1553. yet the Lord Mayor and Aldermen entred not on the possession of it till the month of February now last past, Anno 1555. But having took possession of it, and so much of the Lands of this Hospital being fetled on it, the Hospital in the Savoy could not be restored to its first condition, but by a new Endowment, from such other Lands belonging to Religious Houses which were remaining in the Crown. But the Queen was so resolved upon it, that she might add some works of Charity unto those of Piety, or else in honour of her Grandfather, whose foundation she restored at Greenwich also, the Hospital was again refounded on the third of November, and a convenient yearly Rent allotted to the Master and Brethren for the entertainment of the Poor, according to the tenour and effect of the first Institution. Which Princelike Act so wrought upon the Maids of Honor, and other Ladies of the Court, that for the better attaining of the Queens good grace, they furnished the same at their own costs with new beds, bedding, and other necessary furniture, in a very ample manner. In which condition it continueth to this very day, the Mastership of the Hospital being looked on as a good preferment for any well deserving man about the Court; but for the most part given to some of their Majesties Chaplains for the encouragement of learning, and the reward of their service.

How far the Queens example, seconded by the Ladies about the Court, countenanced by the King, and earnestly insisted on by the Pope then being, might have prevailed on the Nobility and Gentry for doing the like, either in restoring their Church Lands, or assigning some part of them to the like Foundations, it is hard to say; most probable it is, that if the Queen had lived some few years longer, either for love to her, or for fear of gaining the Kings displeasure, (who was now grown too great to be disputed with, if the point were questioned) or otherwise out of an unwillingness to incur the Popes curse, and the Churches censures, there might have been very much done that way, though not all at once. For so it was, that Philip having past over to Calais in the month of September, Anno 1555. And the next day departing to the Emperors Court, which was then at Brussels, where he found his father in a resolution of resigning to him all his Dominions and Estates, except the Empire, (or the bare title rather of it) which was to be surrendered to his brother Ferdinand; not that he had not a design to settle the Imperial Dignity on his Successors in the Realm of Spain, for the better attaining of the Universal Monarchy, which he was said to have aspired to, over all the West, but that he had been crossed in it by Maximilian the eldest son of his brother Ferdinand, who succeeded to his father in it, and left the same hereditary in a manner to the Princes of the House of Austria of the German Race. For Charles grown weary

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weary of the world, broken with wars, and desirous to apply himself to divine meditations, resolved to discharge himself of all civil employments, and spend the remainder of his life in the Monastery of *St. Justus*, situate among the Mountains of *Extremadura*, a Province of the Realm of *Castile*. In pursuance whereof, having called before him the principal of the Nobility and great men of his several Kingdoms and Estates, he made a Relinquishment of all his hereditary Dominions to King *Philip* his son, on the 25th. of *October*, Anno 1555. having then scarce attained to the 55 year of his life, to the great admiration of all the world. After which act, he found himself so abandoned by all his followers, that sitting up late at night in conference with *Seldius* his brothers Embassador, he had not a servant within call to light the Gentleman down stairs. Which being observed by the Emperor, he took the candle into his hands, and would needs in his own person perform that office; and having brought him to the top of the stairs, he said unto him, Remember *Seldius*, that thou hast known the Emperor *Charles*, whom thou hast seen in the head of so many Armies, reduced to such a low estate, as to perform the office of an ordinary servant to his Brothers Minister. Such was the greatness to which *Philip* had attained at the present time, when the Queen was most intent on these new foundations.

As for the Pope, he had published a Bull in print at the same time also, in which he threatened Excommunication to all manner of persons without exception, as kept any Church Lands unto themselves; as also to all Princes, Noblemen, and Magistrates, as did not forthwith put the same in execution: Which though it did not much edifie at the present in the Realm of *England*, yet it found more obedience and conformity in that of *Ireland*, in which a Parliament being called toward the end of this year, (that is to say, in the month of *June*, Anno 1557.) there past a Statute for repealing all Acts, Articles, and Provisions made against the See Apostolick, since the 10th. year of King *Henry* the 8th. and for abolishing of several Ecclesiastical possessions conveyed to the Laity, as also for the extinguishment of First-fruits and Twentieth parts, (no more than the yearly payment of the twentieth part having been laid by Act of Parliament on the Irish Clergy) in the first and last clause whereof, as they followed the example of the Realm of *England*, so possibly they might have given a dangerous example to it in the other point, if by the Queens death following shortly after, as well *K. Philip* as the Pope had not lost all their power & influence on the English Nation; by means whereof, there was no farther progresse in the restitution of the Abbey-Lands, no more re-edifying of the old Religious Houses, and no intention for the founding of any new. Such as most cordially were affected to the interest of the Pope of *Rome*, and otherwise were very perfect at their *Ave Maria*, might love their *Pater noster* well, but their *Penny* better.

Thus have we seen how zealously the Queen proceeded in her way, towards the re-establishing of the Papal greatness. Let us next look on the proceedings of the Cardinal-Legar, not as a Legat à latere from the Pope of *Rome*, but as Legatus natus, a Metropolitan, or Archbishop of the Church of *England*. As Cardinal-Legar he had been never forward in the shedding of blood, declaring many ways his avernesse from that severity, which he saw divers of the English Bishops, but especially the Butcher of *London*, were so bent upon. And when he came to act as Metropolitan, he was very sparing in that kind, as far as his own person was concerned therein; though not to be excused from suffering the under Officers of his Dioceses to be too prodigal of the blood of their Christian brethren. He had been formerly suspected for a favourer of the *Lutheran* Doctrine, when he lived at *Rome*, and acted for the Pope as one of his Legats in the Council of *Trent*. *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, and the rest of the sons of Thunder, who called for nothing less than fire, (though not from heaven) were willing to give out, that he brought the same affections into *England* also; and therefore somewhat must be done to keep up his authority and reputation

tation, both at home and abroad. To which end, he interteth some particulars amongst the printed Articles of his Visitation, to witnesse for him to the world, that he had as great a care for suppressing the growth of Heresie, as any Prelate in the Kingdom, who would be thought more zealous becaute more tyrannical; of which fort are the 14, 15, and 17th. Articles which concerned the Clergy, that is to say, *Whether any of them do teach or preach erroneous doctrine, contrary to the Catholick faith, and the Unity of the Church; and whether any of them do say the divine Service, or do minister the Sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the Church?* Of which sort also were the first of those touching the Laity, viz. *Whether any manner of persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever they be, do hold, maintain, and affirm any Heresies, Errors, and erroneous Opinions, contrary to the Laws Ecclesiastical, and the unity of the Catholick Church?* Which general Article was after branched into such particulars, as concerned the Carnal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, the reverent esteem thereof, the despising of any of the Sacramentals, and the decrying of Auricular Confession by word or practice. And somewhat also of this sort was the 17th. Article, by which it was enquired, *Whether any of the Priests or Clergy, that having been married under the pretence of Lawful Matrimony, and since reconciled, do privately resort to their pretended wives, or that the said women do privately resort to them.* Nothing material or considerable in all the rest, but what hath been in use and practice by all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Judges in the Church of England, since the first and best times of Queen Elizabeth; all of them seeming to have took their pattern from this reverend Prelate's, and to have preceded themselves by the Articles of his Visitation. In two points onely he appeared to be somewhat singular, and therefore found no followers in the times succeeding; the first whereof was, The Registering of the names of the Godfathers and Godmothers, as well as of the child Baptized; which why it should be laid aside I can see no reason, the Rubrick of the Church allowing none to perform that office, before they have received the holy Communion. The second was, an Enquiry, whether the Parsons, Vicars, and Curats were diligent in teaching the Midwives how to Christen children in time of necessity, according to the Canons of the Church; which seemed sufficiently necessary to be put in practice, as long as Baptism was permitted to Midwives or any other persons not in holy Orders.

But though he seemed more favourable than any of the rest of the Bishops, towards those which were living, he was content to exercise the utmost of his power upon those that were dead; nor was he without hope, that by the punishment and disgrace of those which were not sensible of either, he might be thought to manifest his greatest zeal towards the maintenance of the Doctrins of the Church of Rome, as if he had inflicted the like censures on them when they were alive. This prompts him to a Visitation of the University of Cambridge, partly to rectifie the Statutes of it, which in many points were thought to stand in need of a Reformation; but principally to exercise some more than ordinary rigour on the dead bodies of *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Fagius*: Of these, the first, having been the publick Reader in Divinity in the time of King Edward, was solemnly interred in the Church of *St. Maryes*; the other having been *Hebrew-Reader* at the same time also, was buried in the Church of *St. Michael*. In order to this Visitation, he Delegates one *Ormaneto* an Italian, honored with the title of the Popes *Deary*, Doctor *Cuthbert Scott*, then newly consecrated Bishop of *Chester*, Doctor *Watson* M^r. of *St. John's* College, and Lord Elect of *Lincoln*, and Doctor *Christopherson* Master of *Trinity* Colledge, and Dean of *Norwich*, Lord Elect of *Chichester*, and Doctor *Henry Cole* Provost of *Eaton* College, and Dean of *St. Pauls*. With these were joyned as Commissioners Doctor *Andrew Pern*, Master of *Peterhouse*, and Vice-chancellor, some Doctors of Divinity, Sir *James Der* then the Recorder of the Town, and certain others, in the name of the King and Queen. It must be

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some great business doubtlesse, that must require so many hands, and exercise the wits of so many persons, Bishops, Deans, Doctors in Divinity, Canonists, common Lawyers, Knights, and Gentlemen. But what the business was, and how little it required such preparations, we are next to see.

The Cardinals Commissioners came to Cambridge on the 9th. of January, where they found the rest ready to receive them, and the next day they interdicted the two Churches above mentioned, for daring to entertain the dead bodies of such desperate Hereticks. I pretermitt the eloquent speech made by *Stooks* the University-Orator, the Answer thereunto by *Scot*, then Bishop of *Chester*, the Latine Sermon preached by *Peacock* against Sects and Hereticks, together with the Solemn Mass, with which this weighty business was to take beginning. Which preparations being past over, a Petition is presented to the Cardinals Delegates in the name of the Vice-chancellor, and Heads of the University, for taking up the bodies of the said *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Fagius*, to the end that some legal proceedings might be had against them, to the terror of others, in regard of those many dangerous and heretical Doctrines by them formerly taught. The Petition being granted, and the dead bodies condemned to be taken out of their graves, a publick Citation is set up at *St. Mary's Church*, the Market-place, and the common Schools, requiring the said *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Fagius*, or any other in their names, or in their behalf, to appear before the Lords Commissioners on Monday the 18th. of that Month, to answer to such Articles as then and there should be objected against them. But the dead bones nor being able to come unless they were carried, and no body daring to appear as their Proctor or Advocate, they might have been taken *pro confesso*, but that the Court was willing to proceed by Witnesses; and to that end they took the Depositions of several persons, touching the Doctrine taught by the said two Hereticks; and then upon mature deliberation they condemned them of Heresie, ordered them to be taken out of their graves, degraded from all holy Orders, and delivered to the secular Magistrate. Of all this, an account is given to the Cardinal-Legat, who is desired to take some course that the ordinary Writ (*de comburendo Hæretico*) for the burning of Hereticks, might be taken out, and sent unto the Mayor of Cambridge, without which, nothing could be done, in order to the execution of the rest of the Sentence. The Writ accordingly comes down, and Saturday the sixth day of February is appointed for the burning of the two dead bodies; which being taken out of their graves, and laid in their coffins on mens shoulders, are carried to the market place with a guard of men, well armed and weaponed, for fear of making an escape: chained unto several posts, as if still alive, the wood and fire put to them, and their bodies burned, together with as many of their Books as could be gotten, which were cast into the same flames also.

And because one University should not mock the other, the like cruelty was also exercised upon the dead body of *Peter Martyr's* wife at Oxford, a godly, grave, and sober matron while she lived, and to the poor people there exceeding charitable. It was supposed, that *Oxon* stood as much in need of a Visitation as Cambridge did. A Commission is therefore granted by the Cardinal-Legat to Doctor *James Brooks* Bishop of Gloucester, *Ormanet* the Popes Datary, *Cole* and *Wright* Doctors of the Civil Law, &c. to rectifie such things as they found amiss in that University, or in any College of the same. It was given them also in charge amongst other things, that they should take the body of this good woman out of her grave, into which she had been laid Anno 1552. and to consume the same with fire, not doubting but she was of the same Religion which her husband had professed before. But when the Commissioners came to execute that part of their business, they could find no witness to depose any thing for certain touching her Religion, such as were brought before them agreeing generally in this answer, That they did not understand her Language, and therefore could not tell of what Religion she was. It was therefore

therefore signified to the Cardinal, that for want of legal evidence against her, they could not lawfully proceed in burning her body, as they had done the bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, against whom there was evidence enough to be found in their writings, besides that which was given in from the mouths of Witnesses. The Cardinal, thereupon gives order to Doctor *Marshall* Dean of *Christ-Church*, to take up her body (which had been buried near to that of *St. Frisewide*) and to lay it out of Christian burial; who very readily obeyed, took up the bones of that vertuous woman, and most prophanely buried them in a common dunghil. But long they lay not in that place, for Queen *Elizabeth* coming to the Crown within two years after, gave order, that this body should be decently interred, as became the quality of her person, and the reverence due unto her husband; as also that *Bucer* & *Fagius* should in the other University be publicly restord to their former honors. In obedience unto whose commands, the body of the one is taken out of the dunghil, and laid into the grave of *St. Frisewide*, their bones so intermingled with one another, that there could be no fear of offering the like inhumanity to them for the time to come. And that the like honour might be done to *Bucer* and *Fagius*, a solemn commemoration of them was held at *Cambridge*, the Sermon preached by Mr *James Pilkington*, who not long after was preferred to the See of *Durham*; the Panegyrick made by *Ackworth* Orator of that University, who spared no part of a good Orator, in setting forth their due praises, and deserved commendations.

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But we must now look back again on the Reign of Queen *Mary*, in which we find little more to do than the magnificent reception of *Osep Napea*, Embassador from the great Duke of *Muscovy*, upon this occasion: The English Merchants at the sollicitation of *Sebastian Cabot*, had furnished out some ships for the discovery of a North-East passage towards the rich Countries of *Cathai* and *China*; in which they made so good a progress, that they attained as far as the Port of *St. Nicholas*, one of the principal Port-towns of the Empire of *Russia*, and laid the first foundation of a wealthy Trade with that mighty Empire. For their encouragement therein, the Privileges of the *Easterlings*, commonly called the Merchants of the *Stilyard*, (who before had managed all the Trade of the North East parts) were seized on by King *Edward* the 6th. and the way thereby laid open to the Merchant-Adventurers, to encrease their shipping with their wealth. For the continuance of which Trade betwixt the Nations, the Emperor *John Basilinius* sends his Ambassadors above named, embarked in one of the English ships, under the conduct and government of *Richard Chancellor*, the most expert Pilot of that age. But so it hapned, that the rest of the ships being scattered by a strong tempest on the coast of *Norway*, the ship which carried the Ambassadors was wreckt upon the coast of *Scotland*; the lading for the most part lost, amounting to twenty thousand pounds and upwards, besides many rich presents sent from the *Russian* Emperor to the King and Queen. The Ambassadors with much ado was preserv'd from drowning, but the Pilot lost, who by labouring to preserve the life of the other, neglected the best opportunity to save his own. The news wherof being brought to the Merchants of *London*, (who by this time were grown into a Company of 140.) they procured Letters from the King to the Regent of *Scotland*, for the courteous entertainment of the said Ambassadors, and the restoring of such goods as had escaped the wreck: and having furnished him with money and all other necessaries, caused him to be conducted towards the Court.

Taking his leave of *Scotland* on the 14th. of *February*, he is brought by easie journeys within twelve miles of *London*, honorably entertained in all places as he pass along, and there received by four-score of the *Russian* Merchants in their chains of gold. Furnished with Gold, Velter, Silk, and all other things, he is by the whole Company of the *Russian* Merchants magnificently brought into *London* on the last of that month: met on the way by the Lord Viscount *Montacute*, attended with a gallant train of three hundred Horse, at the Queens command, and received at *Smithfield-bars* by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen

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in their scarlet Robes. Conducted to his lodgings in *Fan-Church* street, he was there presented in the Queens name, with a piece of cloath of Tissue, two pieces of cloth of gold, one whereof was raised with Crimson Velvet, with many other pieces of the like rich making, which very thankfully he received, Abiding at his lodging till the Kings coming back from *Flanders*, which was not till the 21 of *March*, he was brought upon our Lady day by water to the Court at *Westminster*; received at his landing by six Lords, he was by them brought into a chamber, where he found the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy Seal, Admiral, Bishop of *Ely*, and other Counsellors. Who having exchanged salutations with him attended him to the King and Queen, sitting under a rich Canopy or cloath of State in the great Hall there. Having presented his Letters of Credence, exprest himself unto their Majesties in a short Oration, which was interpreted to them both in *English* and *Spanish*, and presented them with two timber of Sables, which with much diligence had been recovered out of the wreck, he was by them remitted to his lodging with the like solemnity. Attended shortly after by the Bishop of *Ely*, and Mr Secretary *Peter*; who after much Communication, and several Treaties, settled at last a friendly intercourse and commerce berwixt the Nations; the Articles whereof engrossed in parchment, were afterwards presented to him, ratified and confirmed by the Great Seal of *England*. On the 23d. of *April* he was brought again into the Court, where having seen the Poms and Orders of *St George's* Feast, the Service of the Royal Chapel, and the magnificent Procession of the Knights of the Garter, he takes his leave of the King and Queen, is re-conveyed unto his lodging, and on the 3d. of *May* embarks for *Russia*, accompanied with four good ships well fraught with Merchandise most proper for the trade of that Country to which they were bound. The costly presents sent by him from the King and Queen to the *Russian* Emperour, and those bestowed upon himself, I leave to be reported by him at his coming home, and the relation of *John Stow* in his *Annals of England*, fol. 630. Nor had I dwelt so long upon these particulars, but to set forth the ancient splendor and magnificence of the State of *England*, from which we have so miserably departed in these latter times.

Worse entertainment found an agent from the *French* King at his coming hither, because he came on a worse errand. *Stafford* an *English* Gentleman of a Noble Family, having engaged himself in some of the former enterprises against this Queen, and finding no good fortune in them, retired with divers others to the Court of *France*; from whence they endeavoured many times, to create some dangers to this Realm, by scattering and dispersing divers scandalous Pamphlets, and seditious papers, tending to the apparent defamation of the King and Queen. And having got some credit by these practices amongst the Ministers of that King, he undertakes to seize upon some Fortreſs or Port Town of *England*, and put the same into the hands of the *French*. In prosecution of which plot, accompanied with some *English* Rebels, and divers *French* Adventurers intermingled with them, he seizeth on the strong Castle of *Scarborough*, in the County of *York*. From thence he published a most traiterous and seditious Manifest, in which he trayterously affirmed the Queen, neither to be the Rightful Queen of this Realm, nor to be worthy of the Title, affirming that the King had brought into this Realm the number of twelve thousand *Spaniards*, who had possels'd themselves of twelve of the best Holds in all the Kingdom; upbraiding the Queen with her misgovernment, and taking to himself the Title of Protector of the Realm of *England*. But the Queen being secretly advertised of the whole design, by the diligence of Dr *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*, who was then Ambassador in that Court, Order was taken with the Earl of *Westmorland*, and other Noble men of those parts, to watch the Coasts, and have a care unto the safety of those Northern Provinces. By whom he was so closely watch'd, and so well attended, that having put himself into that Castle on the 24th. he was pulled out of it again on the last of *April*; from

from thence brought prisoner unto London, condemned of Treason, executed on the Tower Hill, May 28. and on the morrow after three of his accomplices were hanged at Tyburn, cut down and quartered.

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But as it was an ill wind which blowes no body good, so this French Treason, so destructive to the chief conspiratours, redounded to the great benefit and advantage of Philip. He had for three years borne the Title of King of England, without reaping any profit and commodity by it. But being now engaged in war with King Henry the 3d. though in pursute rather of his fathers quarrels, than any new ones of his own, he takes this opportunity to move the Queen to declare her self against the French, & to assist him in his war against that King, for the good of her Kingdoms. It was not possible for the Queen to separate her interest from that of her husband, without hazarding some great unkindness, if not a manifest breach between them. She therefore yields to his desire, and by her Proclamation of the 7th. of June, chargeth that King in having an hand not only in the secret practices of the Duke of Northumberland, but also in the open rebellion of *Wat.* and his confederates. She also laid unto his charge, that *Dudley Ashton*, and some other male contents of England, were entertained in the house of his Ambassadors, where they contrived many treasons and conspiracies against her and her Kingdom; that flying into France, they were not only entertained in the Court of that King, but relieved with pensions. Finally, that he had aided and encouraged *Stafford* with shippings, men, money, and munition, to invade her Realm, thereby if it were possible, to dispossess her of her Crown. She therefore gives notice to her subjects, that they should forbear all traffick and commerce with the Realm of France: from which she had received so many injuries, as could admit no reparation but by open war. And that she might not seem to threaten what she never intended, she causeth an army to be raised consisting of one thousand horse, four thousand foot, and two thousand pioneers, which she puts under the command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and so dispatcheth them for Flanders, to which they came about the middle of July. King Philip had gone before on the 6th. of that month, and all things here were followed with such care and diligence, that the army staid not long behind; but what they did, falls not within the compass of this present year.

All which remains to be remembred in this present year, relates unto such changes and alterations, as were made amongst the Governors of the Church, and the Peers of the Realm. It hath been signified before, that *White of Lincoln* had prevailed by his friends in Court, to be translated unto *Winchester*, as the place of his Nativity and Education. To whom succeeded Dr *Thomas Watson*, Master of St. John's College in Cambridge, and Dean of Durham, elected to the See of Lincoln, before Christmas last, and acting by that name, and in that capacity, against the dead body of *Martin Bucer*. To Day of *Chichester*, who deceased on the 2d. of Aug. in the beginning of his year, succeeded Dr *John Christopherson*, a right learned man, Mr of Trinity College in Cambridge, and Dean of Norwich, elected about the same time when the other was, and acting as he did against *Bucer* and *Fagius*, as also did Dr *Cuthbert Scot*, who at that time was actually invested in the See of *Chester*, upon the death of Dr *oats*, the preceding Bishop. And finally, in the place of *Aldrick* Bishop of *Carlisle*, who died on the 5th. of March, 1555. Dr *Owen Oglethorp*, President of *Magdalen* College in *Oxon*, and Dean of *Windfor*, receives Consecration to that See, in that first part of this year; but the particular day and time thereof I have no where found. Within the compass of this year (that is to say the 4th. year of the Reign of this Queen) died two other Bishops, *Salcor* or *Capon* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *Chambers* the first Bishop of *Peterborough*; to the first of which there was no successor actually consecrated or confirmed, for the reasons to be shewed anon in the Reign of this Queen. But to the other, succeeded Dr *David Pool*, Dr of both laws, Dean of the Arches, Chancellor to the Bishop of *Lichfield*, and Arch-Deacon of *Derby*, elected before the end of this year, but not consecrated

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crated till the 15th of *August*, in the beginning of the next.

Some alterations happed also amongst the Peers of the Realm, in the creation of one, and the destruction of another. A Rebellion had been raised in the North upon the first suppression of Religious Houses, *Anno* 1536. in which Sir *Thomas Percy* second son to *Henry* the fifth Earl of *Northumberland* of that name and family, was thought to be a principal rickler, and for the same was publickly arraigned, condemned, and executed. By *Eleanor* his wife, one of the daughters and heirs of Sir *Guiscard Hareboille*, he was the father of *Thomas* and *Henry*, who hitherto had suffered under his Attaindure: But now it pleased Queen *Mary* to reflect on their Fathers sufferings, and the cause thereof, which moved her not onely to restore them to their blood and honors, but also to so much of the Lands of the *Percies* as were remaining in the Crown. In pursuance whereof, she advanced *Thomas* the elder brother, on the last of *April*, to the Style, Title, and Degree of Earl of *Northumberland*, the remainder to his brother *Henry*, in case the said *Thomas* should depart this life without Issue male. By vertue of which Enrail, the said *Henry* afterwards succeeded him in his Lands and Honors, notwithstanding that he was attained, condemned, and executed for high Treason in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1572.

Not many weeks before the restitution of which noble Family, that of the Lord *Sturton* was in no small danger of a final destruction, a Family first advanced to the state of a Baron in the person of Sir *John Sturton*, created Lord *Sturton* in the 26th. of King *Henry* the 6th. and now upon the point of expiring in the person of *Charles* Lord *Sturton*, condemned and executed with four of his servants on the 6th. of *March*, for the murder of one *Argal* and his son, with whom he had been long at variance. It was his first hope that the murder might not be discovered, and for that cause had buried the dead bodies fifteen foot under ground; his second, that by reason of his zeal to the Popish Religion it might be no hard matter to procure a pardon. But the Murder was too foul to be capable of any such favour, so that he was not onely adjudged to die, but condemned to be hanged. It is reported of *Marcus Antonius*, that having vanquished *Artaxasdes* King of *Armenia*, he led him bound in chains to *Rome*; but for his greater honor, and to distinguish him from the rest of the prisoners, in chains of gold: And such an honour was vouchsafed to this noble Murderer, in not being hanged as his servants and accomplices were, in a halter of hemp but in one of silk. And with this fact the Family might have expired, if the Queen, having satisfied Justice by his execution, had not consulted with her mercy for the restoring of his next Heir both in blood and honor.

Artaxasdes
Armenie Regem, fraude deceptum, Catenis, sed ne quid honoris deisset, auris vicis Antonium. Vell. Patere.

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WE must begin this year with the success of those forces which were sent under the command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, to the aid of *Philip*; who having made up an Army of 35 thousand Foot, and 12 thousand Horse, besides the Forces out of *England*, late down before St. *Quentin* the chief Town of *Piccardy*, called by the *Romans*, *Augusta Veromanduorum*, and took this new name from St. *Quentin* the supposed tutelary Saint and Patron of it; a Town of principal importance to his future aims, as being one of the Keys of *France* on that side of the Kingdom, and opening a fair way even to *Paris* it self. For the raising of which Siege, the *French* King sends a puissant Army under the command of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, then Lord High Constable of *France*, accompanied with the Flower of the *French* Nobility. On the 10th. day of *August* the Battels joyn, in which the *French* were vanquished, and their Army routed; the Constable himself, the Prince of *Mantua*, the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Longueville*, with six others of the prime Nobility, and many others

of

of less note, being taken prisoners: The Duke of *Angien*, the Viscount *Turin*, *An. Reg.*
four persons of honorable rank, most of the Foot Captains, and of the com- *Mar. 5.*
mon Soldiers to the number of 2500 slain upon the place. The news whereof *1557.*
struck such a terror in King *Henry* the 2d. that he was upon the point of for-
saking *Paris*, and retiring into *Languedock*, or some other remote part of his
Dominions; In the suddenness of which surprise, he dispatche his Curriers for
recalling the Duke of *Guise* out of *Italy*, whom he had sent thither at the Popes
instigation with a right puissant Army for the Conquest of *Naples*. But *Philip*
knowing better how to enjoy than to use his victory, continued his Siege be-
fore *St. Quintin*, which he stormed on the 18th. of that month, the Lord *Hen-*
ry Dudley one of the younger sons of the Duke of *Northumberland* (who lost
his life in the Assault) together with Sir *Edward Windsor*, being the first that
scaled the walls, and advanced their victorious Colours on the top thereof.
After which gallant piece of service, the English finding some neglect at the
hands of *Philip*, humbly desire to be dismiss into their Country, which for fear
of some further inconvenience was indulged unto them. By which dismissal
of the English (as *Thuanus* and others have observed) King *Philip* was not able
with all his Spaniards to perform any action of importance in the rest of the
War.

But the English shall pay dearly for this Victory, which the Spaniard
bought with no greater loss than the lives of 50 of his men. The English at that
time were possessed of the Town of *Calais*, with many other pieces and Forts
about, as *Guineffe*, *Fanin*, *Ardes*, &c. together with the whole Territory cal-
led the County *Oye*, the Town by *Cesar* called *Portus Leciis*, situate on the
mouth or entrance of the English Chanel; opposite to *Dover*, one of the five
principal Havens in those parts of *England*, from which distant not above
twenty five miles, a Town much aimed at for that reason by King *Edward* the
3d. who after a Siege of somewhat more than eleven months, became Master
of it, *Anno* 1347. by whom first made a Colonie of the English Nation, and
after one of the Staple Towns for the sale of Wool. Kept with great care by
his Successors, who as long as they had it in their possession, were said to car-
ry the Keys of *France* at their girdle; esteemed by *Philip de Comines* for the
goodliest Captainship in the world, and therefore trusted unto none but per-
sons of most eminent rank both for courage and honour. A Town which for
more than 200 years had been such an eye-sore to the *French*, and such a thorn
in their sides, that *Monsieur de Cordes*, a Nobleman who lived in the Reign
of King *Lewis* the 11th. was wont to say, that he could be content to lie (e-
ven years in hell, upon condition that this Town were regained from the Eng-
lish. But the *French* shall have it now at an easier rate; The Queen had broke
the Peace with *France*, and sent a considerable Body of Forces to the aid of
Philip, but took no care to fortifie and make good this place, as if the same
Garrison which had kept it in a time of peace, had been sufficient to maintain
it also in a time of war.

For so it hapned, that *Francis of Lorraine* Duke of *Guise*, one of the best Sol-
diers of that age, being called back with all his forces from the war of *Italy*,
and not well pleased with the loss of that opportunity which seemed to have
been offered to him for the conquest of *Naples*, resolved of doing somewhat
answerable unto expectation, as well for his own honor as the good of his
Country. He had long fixed his eyes on *Calais*, and was informed by *Senarpons*
Governor of *Belloigne*, and by consequence a near neighbour to it, that
the Town was neither so well fortified, nor so strongly garrisoned, but that it
might be taken without any great difficulty. For confirmation whereof, *Mon-*
sieur a Sirozzie one of the Marshals of *France*, under the favour of a disguise,
takes a view of the place, and heartneth on the Duke with the feasibility of
the undertaking. *Philip*, who either had intelligence of the *French* designs, or
otherwise rationally supposing what was like to follow in the course of War,
had often advised the Queen to have a care of that Piece, and freely offered his
assistance

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assistance for defence thereof. But the English over-wisely jealous lest *Philip* had a practice on it, it lying commodiously for his adjoining *Netherlands*, neglected both his advice and proffer. Nay, so extremely careless were the Council of *England* in looking to the preservation and defence of this place, that when the Duke sat down before it, there was not above 500 Soldiers, and but two hundred fighting men amongst the Townsmen, although the whole number of Inhabitants amounted to 4200 persons. On New-years day the Duke of *Guise* sat down before it, and on Twelfth-day had it surrendred up unto him by the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, who had the chief command and government of it. The noise of the thundring Canon heard as far as *Antwerp*, could not but rouse the drowsie *English* to bethink themselves of some relief to be sent to *Calais*, and they accordingly provided both ships and men to perform that service. But the winds were all the while so strong and so cross against them, that before the English ships could get out of their Havens, the French were Masters of the Town. Some greater difficulty found the Duke in the taking of the Castle of *Guisnesse*, where the Lord *Gray*, a valiant and expert Soldier, had the chief command. But at length the Accessories followed the same fortune with the Principal, both *Guisnesse* and *Hamne*, and all the other Pieces in the County of *Oye*, being reduced under the power of the French within few days after.

There now remained nothing to the Crown of *England* of all its ancient Rights in *France*, but the Islands of *Gernsey*, *Jersey*, *Sark*, and *Alderney*, all lying on the coast of *Normandy*, of which Dukedome heretofore accounted members. Held by the English ever since the time of the *Norman* Conquest, they have been many times attempted by the French, but without successe; never so much in danger of being lost as they were at this present. Some of the French had well observed, that the Island of *Sark* (an Island of six miles in compass) enjoyed the benefit of a safe and commodious Haven, but without any to defend it but a few poor Hermires, whom the privacy and solitariness of the place had invited thither. The Island round begirt with Rocks, lying aloft above the Sea, and having onely one streight passage or ascent unto it, scarce capable of two abreast. Of this Island the French easily posselt themselves, dislodged the Hermires, fortified the upper part of the Ascent with some pieces of Ordnance, and settle a small Garrison in it to defend the Haven. But long they had not nested there, when by a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, one of the subjects of King *Philip*, it was thus regained: The Flemmish Gentleman with a small Bark came to Anchor in the Road, and pretending the death of his Merchant, besought the French that they might bury him in the Chapel of that Island, offering a present to them of such Commodities as they had aboard. To this request the French were easily entreated, upon condition, that they should not come to shore with any weapon, no not so much as a Pen-knife. This leave obtained, the Flemming row'd unto the shoar with a Coffin in their skiff for that use purposely provided, and manned with Swords & Arcubusses. Upon their landing, and a search so strict and narrow, that it was impossible to hide a Pen-kife, they were permitted to draw their Coffin up the Rocks, some of the French rowing back unto the ship to fetch the Present, where they were soon made fast enough and laid in hold. The Flemmings in the mean time which were on the land had carried their Coffin into the Chapel, and having taken thence their weapons gave an Alarum unto the French, who taken thus upon the suddain, and seeing no hopes of succour from their fellows, yielded themselves, and abandoned the possession of that place. A Stragem to be equalled, if not preferred, unto any of the Antients, either *Greeks* or *Romans*, did not that fatal folly, reprehended once by *Tacitus*, still reign amongst us, that we extol the former days, and contemn the present.

The losse of this Island gave a new Alarum to the Council of *England*, who thereupon resolved to set out a right puissant Navy, as well for the securing of the rest of the Islands, as to make some impression on the Main of *France*.

It

Quod vetera
extollimus, ve-
nientium in-
curiosum.

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It was not till the month of *April* that they entred into consultation about this business, and so exceeding tedious were they in their preparations, that the month of *July* was well spent before they were ready to weigh Anchor. During which time the *French* had notice of their purpose, and understanding that they had an aim on *Brest* in *Bretaign*, they took more care in fortifying it against the English, than the English did for *Calais* against the French. It was about the middle of *July* that the Lord Admiral *Clynton* set sail for *France*, with a Fleet of one hundred and forty ships, whereof thirty *Flemish*. Finding no hopes of doing any good on *Brest*, bends his course for *Conquet*, an open Seaport of that Province; at this place he lands his men, takes and sacks the Town, burns it together with the Abbey, and having wasted all the Country round about, returned with safety to his ships. But the *Flemish* somewhat more greedy on the spoil, and negligent in observing Martial Discipline, are valiantly encountered by a Nobleman of that Country, and sent back sewer by five hundred than they came on shoar. This was the sum of what the English did this year, in order to the recovery of the honour which they lost at *Calais*; and possibly they might think they had done enough in the spoil of *Bretaign*, to satisfy for the loss of a Town in *Piccardy*; whereas in truth, the waste which they had made in *Bretaign* might be compared to the cutting off a mans hair, which will grow again; the loss of *Calais* to the dismembring of an arm or leg, never to be again united to the rest of the body.

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Either by reason of these wars, or that men were not then so prompt to Sutes in Law, the Lawyers found but little work in *Westminster-hall*, in so much that at the King's Bench Bar there attended but one man of Law called *Foster*, and but one Serjeant onely called *Boulloise* of the Common-Pleas, both having little more to do than to look about them, and the Judges not much more to do than the Lawyers had; but certainly, that great leisure which the Lawyers found for doing nothing, proceeded rather from the noise of the wars, in which the voice of the Law cannot easily be heard, than from the quietness & disposition of the times, in which the number both of Sutes and Pleaders had been much encreased, as may be gathered from the words of *Heimwood* the old Epigrammatist, and one much made of by the Queen, who being told of the great number of Lawyers, and that the number of them would impoverish the whole Profession, made answer, *No, for that always the more Spaniels there were in the field, the more was the game.* Not so much elbow-room in the Hall, though possibly not much more business for them in the Term next following, by reason of the Parliament which began on the 20th. of *January*, and held on till the seventh of *March*, in which I find no Act which concerned Religion, nor any thing which had relation to the Clergy, more than the confirmation of their Grant of Subsidies. It was a military time, and the Acts had something in them of that temper also, that is to say, an Act, proportioning what number of Horse, Arms, and Weapons every man should be charged withall in his several station, cap. 2. an Act for the due taking and observing of Musters, cap. 3. that Accessaries in Murder, and such as were found guilty of divers Felonies, should not have their Clergy, cap. 4. for the quiet behaviour of such *French-men* as had purchased the privilege of being Denizens, cap. 6. and finally, for granting a Subsidy and Fifteen by the Temporality towards the defence of the Realm, and carrying on the War against those of *France*. Nothing else memorable in this Session, but that *Fecknam* the new Abbot of *Westminster*, and *Tresham* the new Prior of *St. Johns of Jerusalem*, took place amongst the Lords in the House of Peers.

At the Convocation then holden for the Province of *Canterbury*, *Harpfield* Arch-Deacon of *London*, is chosen and admitted Prolocutor for the House of the Clergy. Which done, the Cardinal-Archbishop offers it to the consideration of the Bishops and Clergy, that some course might be thought upon for the recovery of *Calais*, then lately taken by the *French*. Which whether it were done to spur on the Parliament, or to shew their good affections to the publick

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publick service, is not much material, considering that I find nothing acted in pursuance of it. As little was there done in order to another of his propositions, touching the reviewing and accommodating of the Statutes of the new foundations, though a reference thereof was made to the Bishops of *Lincoln, Chester, and Peterborough*, together with the Deans of *Canterbury, Worcester, and Winchester*. Some desires also were agreed on to be presented to the Prelate Cardinal, in the name of the Clergy, as namely, "1. That request may be made to the Queens Majesty, That no Parson, Vicar or Curate, be pressed by any Captain to go to the wars. 2. That where two Benefices being contiguous, are so small that they are not able to find a Priest, the Bishop of the Diocese may give them in *commendam* to some one man to serve them *alterius vicibus*. 3. That the Parishioners which have Chapels of ease, and yet want Priests to serve the Cure, may be compelled to come to the Parish Churches, until some Curate may be gotten to serve the same. And 4. That every Bishop may be authorized by the Pope to give Orders *extra tempora prescripta*, that is to say, as well at any other times, as on the Sundayes after the four *Ember weeks*. And finally taking into consideration the great necessities of the State, and preparation of the enemies, they granted first unto the Queen, a Subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years, beginning after the last payment of the former grant; and because the Laity at that time had charged themselves with horse and armour for defence of the Realm; the Clergy also did the like according to their several Orders and abilities. For the imposing whereof upon the rest of the Clergy, they had no recourse at all unto the *Midwifery* of an Act of Parliament, but acted the whole business in their own Synodical way, without contradiction.

But the main business of this year, in reference to the concernments of holy Church related to the Cardinal Legate; against whom the Pope had borne an inveterate grudge, sharpened by the suggestions of Bishop *Gardiner*, as before was signified. Being of himself a rigorous man, and one that was extremely wedded to his own opinion, he had so passionately espoused the quarrel of the *French* against the *Spaniards*, that he intended to divest *Philip* of the Realm of *Naples*, and to confer it on the *French*. For this cause *Francis* Duke of *Guise* with a puissant army is drawn into *Italy* for the subduing of that Kingdom, but suddenly recalled again, upon the routing of the *French* before *St Quintin*, wherein the *English* forces had appeared so serviceable. Which gave the Pope so much displeasure, that he resolved to let his greatest enemies feel the dint of his spirit. But not daring upon second thoughts to fall foul with the Queen, he turned his fury against *Pole*, by whose perswasion it was thought that the Queen had broke her league with *France* to take part with her husband. In which humour he deprives him of the *Legantine* power, confers the same on *Frier Peitow* an *English* man by birth, but of good descent, whom he designs also to the See of *Salisbury*, then vacant by the death of *Capon*. Knew the Queens Agent with the Pope, advertiseth her Majesty of these secret practices, which the Queen concealing from the Cardinal, endeavoureth by all fair and gentle means to mitigate the Pope's displeasure, and confirm the Cardinal in the place and power which he then enjoyed. But the Pope not a man to be easily altered, *Pole* in the mean time understanding how things went at *Rome*, laid by the Cross of his Legation, and prudently abstaineth from the exercise of his *Bulls* and *Faculties*. *Peitow* the new Cardinal Legate, puts himself on the way to *England*, when the Queen taking to her self some part of her fathers spirit, commands him at his utmost peril, not to adventure to set foot upon *English* ground; to which he readily inclined, as being more affected unto Cardinal *Pole*, than desirous to shew himself the servant of another mans passion. In the end, partly by the Queens mediation, the intercession of *Ormanette*, the good successes of the *French* in the taking of *Calais*, but principally by the death of *Peitow* in the *April* following, the rupture was made up again, and *Pole* confirmed in the possession of his former powers.

The

The fear of running the like hazard for the time to come, made him appear more willing to connive at his under Officers, in shedding the blood of many godly and religious persons, than otherwise he would have been. Whereupon followed the burning of ten men in the Diocese of *Canterbury*, on the 15th of *January*, whereof two suffered at *Ashford*, two at *Rye*, and the other six in his own Metropolitan City; and possibly the better to prepare the Pope towards this Attonement, the Queen was moved to issue her Commission of the month of *February*, directed to the Bishop of *Eliz*, the Lords, *Windsor*, *North*, and seventeen others, by which the said Commissioners, or any three, or more of them, were impowred to enquire of all and singular Heretical opinions, "Lollardies, Heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false tales, rumours, seditious or slanderous words, &c. As also seize into their hands all manner of Heretical and seditious Books, Letters and Writings, wheresoever they, or any of them should be found, as well in Printers houses, and shops, as elsewhere, willing them, and every of them, to search for the same in all places according to their discretions. And finally to enquire after all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, to hear Mass, or come to their Parish Churches, and all such as refuse to go on Procession, to take holy bread, or holy water, or otherwise misuse themselves in any Church or hallowed place, &c. The party so offending to be proceeded against according to the Ecclesiastical Lawes, or otherwise by fine or imprisonment, as to them seemed best.

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But the Commissioners being many in number, persons of honour and employment for the most part of them, there was little or nothing done in pursuance of it, especially as to the searching after prohibited books; the number whereof increasing every day more and more, a Proclamation was set forth on the 6th. of *June*, to hinder the continual spreading of so great a mischief. Which Proclamation was as followeth, *viz.* "Whereas divers books filled with Heresie, Sedition, and Treason, have of late been dayly brought into this Realm out of forein Countries and places beyond the seas, and some covertly printed within this Realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof; whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also incouragement given to disobey lawful Princes and Governours; the King and Queens Majesties for redress hereof, do by their present Proclamation, declare and publish to all their subjects, that whosoever shall after the Proclamation hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or finding them, do not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading the same to any other persons, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a rebel, and shall without further delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of Martial Law. Which Proclamation though it were very smart and quick, yet there was somewhat of more mercy in it, than in another which came out in the very same month, at the burning of seven persons in *Smithfield*, published both at *Newgate*, where they were imprisoned, and at the stake where they were to suffer; whereby it was straightly charged and commanded, *That no man should either pray for, or speak to them, or once say God help them.* A cruelty more odious than that of *Domitian*, or any of the greatest Tyrants of the elder times, in hindering all intercourse of speech, upon some jealousy and distrusts of State between man and man.

Which Proclamation notwithstanding, *Beniam* the Minister of one of the *London* Congregations, seeing the fire set to them, turning his eyes unto the people, cried and said, We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot chuse but wish well to them, and say God strengthen them; and so boldly he said, *A mighty God for Christs sake strengthen them.* With that all the people with one consent cryed *Amen, Amen*, the noise whereof was so great, and the cryers so many, that the Officers knew not whom to seize on, or with whom they were to begin their accusation. And though peradventure

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it may seem to have somewhat of a miracle in it, that the Protestants should have a Congregation under *Bonner's* nose; yet so it was, that the godly people of that time were so little terrified with the continual thoughts of that bloody Butcher, that they maintained their constant meetings for religious offices, even in *London* it self; in one of which Congregations, that namely whereof *Bensham* was at this time Minister, there assembled seldome under 40. many times 100. and sometimes 200. but more or less as it stood most with their convenience and safety. The Ministers of which successively were *Mr Edward Scambler*, after Bishop of *Peterborough*, *Mr Thomas Foule*, of whom I find nothing but the name, *Mr John Rongh*, a Scot by Nation, convented and condemned by *Bonner*, and suffering for the testimony of a good conscience, December 20. After whom followed *Mr Augustine Bernher*, a moderate and learned man; And finally, *Mr Thomas Bensham* before mentioned, who continued in that charge till the death of *Queen Mary*, and was by *Queen Elizabeth* preferred to the See of *Lichfield*, Anno 1589. By the encouragement and constant preaching of which pious men, the Protestant party did not only stand to their former principle, but were resolved to suffer whatsoever could be laid upon them, rather than forfeit a good conscience, or betray the cause. They had not all the opportunity of such holy meetings, but they met frequently enough in smaller companies, to animate and comfort one another in those great extremities.

Nor sped the *Queen* much better in her Proclamation of the sixth of *June*, concerning the suppression of prohibited Books; but notwithstanding all the care of her *Inquisitors*, many good Books of true Christian Consolation and good Protestant Doctrine, did either find some Press in *London*, or were sent over to their brethren by such learned men as had retired themselves to their several *Sanctuaries*, their places of Retreat, which not improperly may be called their Cities of Refuge, which we have seen already; amongst which, I find none but *Embsden* in the *Lutheran* Countries, the rigid Professors of which Churches abominated nothing more than an English Protestant, because they concurred not with them in the monstrous Doctrine of *Ubiquity*, and their device of *Consubstantiation*. Inasmuch that a *Peter Martyr* telleth us of a friend of his in the Dukedom of *Saxony*, that he was generally hated by the rest of Country-men, for being hospitable to some few of the English Nation, who had been forced to abandon their native soil. And it is further signified by *Ph. Melancthon* with no small dislike, in an Epistle of this year, that many of those rigid *Lutherans* could find no other name but the Devils *Martyrs*, for such as suffered death in *England* in defence of Religion; so that they seemed to act the part of *Diotrephes* in *St John*, not only prating against us with malicious words, and refusing to receive the brethren in the day of their trouble, but forbidding and condemning them that would. But *John Alasco* and his company had been lately there, where they spoke so reproachfully of *Luther*, the *Augustan* Confession, the Rites and Ceremonies of their Churches, as rendered them incapable of any better entertainment than they found amongst them. And by the behaviour of these men coming then from *England*, the rigid *Lutherans* passed their judgement on the Church it self, and consequently on all those who suffered in defence thereof. For stopping the course of which uncharitable censures, it was thought fit by some of the Divines in *Embsden*, that Archbishop *Crammers* book about the Sacrament, should be translated into *Latin*, and forthwith published in Print, which was done accordingly. Some of the *Lutherans* had given out on the former ground, that the *English* had deservedly suffered the greatest hardships both at home and abroad, because they writ and spake less reverently of the blessed Sacrament; and it was hoped that by the publishing of this book, they would find the contrary. The like course taken also at *Geneva* by the *English* exiles, by publishing in the *Latin* tongue, a discourse writ by Bishop *Ridley* on the self same Argument, to the end it might appear unto all the world how much their brethren had been wronged in these odious calumnies.

An.

(a) In summo
enim esse odio,
quod Anglos
profugas hospiti-
tis susceperat,
&c. P. Mart.
Epist.
ubi vociferan-
tur quidam
Martyres An-
glicos, esse
Martyres Dia-
bolicos, in epist.
coloss. 3.

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BUT in the midst of all these sorrowes, I see some hope of comfort coming by the death of Queen Mary, whose Reign polluted with the blood of so many Martyrs, unfortunate by the frequent insurrections, and made inglorious by the loss of the Town of Calais, was only commendable in the brevity or shortness of it. For now to bring it to an end, a dangerous and contagious Feaver began to rage in most parts of the land, insomuch that if the whole Realm had been divided into four parts, three parts of the four would have been found infected with it, so furiously it raged in the month of August, that no former plague or pestilence was thought to have destroyed a greater number, so that divers places were left void of Justices and men of worth to govern the Kingdom. At which time died also so many Priests, that a great number of Parish Churches in divers places were unserved, and no curats could be gotten for money: Much corn was also lost in the field for want of labourers and workmen to get it in; both which together seemed to threaten not onely a spiritual but a temporal famine; though God so ordered it, that by the death of so many of the present Clergy, a door was opened for the preaching of sounder Doctrine, with far less envy and displeasure from all sorts of people than it had been otherwise: Nor were the heats of the disease abated by the coldness of the winter, or the malignity of it mitigated by medicinal courses. It took away the Physicians as well as the Patients, two of the Queens Doctors dying of it not long before her, and spared not more the Prelate than it did the Priest, insomuch that within less than the space of a twelvemonth, almost the one half of the English Bishops had made void their Sees; which with the death of so many of the Priests in several places, did much facilitate the way to that Reformation, which soon after followed.

This terrible disease, together with the said effects which followed on it, and the Queens death which came along with it, though not caused by it, may seem to have been prognosticated or foretold by a dreadful tempest of thunder, happening on the 11th. of July near the Town of Nottingham, which Tempest as it came through two Towns, beat down all the Houses and Churches, the Bells were cast to the outside of the Church-yard, and some sheets of Lead four hundred foot into the field, written like a pair of gloves. The River of Trent running between which two Towns, the water with the mud in the bottom was carried a quarter of a mile and cast against the trees, the trees plucked up by the roots, and from thence cast twelve-score paces; also a child was taken forth of a mans hand, and by the fury of it carried an hundred foot, two spears length from the ground, and so fell down, broke its arm, and dyed. Five or six men thereabouts were slain, and neither flesh nor skin perished; at what time also there fell some Hailstones that were fifteen inches about, &c. But neither that terrible disease, nor this terrible tempest, nor any other publick signe of Gods displeasure, abated any thing of the fury of the Persecution, till he was pleased to put an end unto it by the death of the Queen. It was upon the tenth day of November that no fewer than five at once were burned at Canterbury. The Cardinal and the Queen both lying on the bed of sickness, and both dying within seven days after. It had been prayed or prophesied by those five Martyrs when they were at the stake, that they might be the last who should suffer death in that manner, or on that occasion; and by Gods mercy so it proved, they being the last which suffered death under the severity of this persecution.

Which Persecution, and the carriage of the Papists in it, is thus described by Bishop Jewel, "You have (saith he) imprisoned your brethren, you have stripped them naked, you have scourged them with rods, you have burnt their hands and arms with flaming torches, you have famished them, you have

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"drowned

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"drowned them, you have summoned them being dead to appear before you
 "out of their graves, you have ripped up their buried carcasses, burnt them,
 "and thrown them out upon the Dunghil, you took a poor Babe falling from
 "its mothers womb, and in most cruel and barbarous manner threw it into
 "the fire. By all which several ways and means, the Martyrs in all parts of the
 Kingdom amounted to the number of two hundred seventy seven persons of
 all sorts and sexes; But more particularly there are said to have perished in
 these flames five Bishops, twenty one Divines, eight Gentlemen, eighty four
 Artificers, one hundred Husbandmen Servants and Labourers, twenty six
 Wives, twenty Widows, nine Virgins, two Boys, and two Infants; the one
 springing out of his mothers womb as she was at the stake, and most unmercifully
 flung into the fire in the very birth. Sixty four more in those furious
 times were presented for their faith, whereof seven were whipped, sixteen perished
 in prison, twelve buried in Dunghills, and many more lay in captivity
 condemned, which were delivered by the opportune death of Queen Mary,
 and the most auspicious entrance of Queen Elizabeth, whose gracious
 government blotted out the remembrance of all former sufferings; the different
 conditions of whose Reigns, with the former two, may seem to have somewhat
 in them of those appearances which were presented to *Elijah* in the
 Book of Kings, in the first Book and nineteenth Chapter, wherein we find it
 written, *That a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the
 rocks before the Lord, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an
 earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a
 fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and finally after the fire a still small voice,*
 in which the Lord spake unto his Prophet: So in like manner it may be feared,
 that God was neither in that great and terrible wind, which threw down so many
 Monasteries and Religious houses in the Reign of King Henry; nor in that
 Earthquake, which did so often shake the very foundations of the State in the
 time of King Edward; nor in the Fire, in which so many godly and religious
 persons were consumed to ashes in the days of Queen Mary; but that he
 shewed himself in that *still small Voice*, which breathed so much comfort to the
 souls of his people, in the most gracious and fortunate Government of a Virgin-Queen.

For now it pleased God to hearken to the cry of those his Saints which lay
 under the Altar, and called upon him for an end of those calamities, to which
 their dear brethren were exposed. The Queen had inclined unto a Dropsie
 ever since the time of her supposed being with child; which inclination appeared
 in her more and more, when her swelling fell from the right place to
 her lower parts, increasing irrecoverably in despite of Physick, till at last it
 brought her to her death. But there are divers other causes which are supposed
 to have contributed their concurrence in it; Philip, upon the resignation
 of his fathers Kingdoms and Estates, had many necessary occasions to be
 out of the Kingdom, and yet she thought, that he made more occasions than
 he needed, to be absent from her; This brought her first into a fancy that he
 cared not for her, which drew her by degrees into a fixed and settled melancholly,
 confirmed, if not encreased, by a secret whisper, that Philip entertained
 some wandering Loves when he was in Flanders. Her Glasses could not so
 much flatter as not to tell her, that she had her fathers seizures with her mothers
 complexion; and she was well enough able to inform her self, that the severity
 of her humour had no great charms in it, so that on the point she wanted
 many of those natural and acquired attractions, which might have served to
 invite or reward affection. Fixed on this melancholy pin, the death of *Charles*
 the Emperour, which hapned on the 21 of September, comes to help it forward;
 a Prince, upon whose countenance and support she had much depended,
 both when she was in disgrace with her father, and out of favour with her
 brother. But that which came nearest to her heart, was the loss of *Calais*, first
 lost for want of giving credit to the intelligence which had been sent her by
 her

her Husband; and secondly by the lois of that opportunity which might have been taken to regain it. *Monsieur d' Iermes* who was made Governour of the Town, had drained it of the greatest part of the Garison to joyn with some other forces, for the taking of some Towns in *Flanders*; But in a batrel fought near *Graveling* on the 13th. of *July*, he lost not onely his own liberty, but more then five thousand of his men; the fortune of the day falling so heavily on the Soldiers of *Calais*, that few of them escaped with life. So that if the Queens Navy, which had done great service in the fight, had showed, it self before the Town, and Count *Egmond* who commanded the *Flemmings* had sate down with his victorious Army to the Landward of it, it might have been recovered in as few days as it had been lost.

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This opportunity being neglected, she gave her self some hopes of a restitution upon an agreement then in treaty between *France* and *Spain*. But when all other matters were accorded between those Crowns, and that nothing else was wanting to compose all differences but the restoring of this Town, the French were absolutely resolved to hold it, and the Spaniards could in honor make no Peace without it. So the whole Treary, and the deceitful hopes which she built upon it, came at last to nothing. And though she had somewhat eased her self not long before, by attainting the Lord *Wintworth* and certain others, for their cowardly quitting of the place, which they could not hold; yet that served onely like a cup of Strong-waters for the present qualm, without removing the jult cause of the present distemper. And it encreased so plainly in her, that when some of her Visitants, not knowing the cause of her discomforts, applied their several cordials to revive her spirits, she told them in plain rearms, that they were mistaken in the nature of her disease; and that if she were to be dissected after her death, they would find *Calais* next her heart. Thus between jealousy, shame, and sorrow, taking the growth of her infirmity amongst the rest, she became past the help of Physick. In which extremity she began to entertain some thoughts of putting here siter *Elizabeth* beside the Crown, and setting the Succession of it on her cousin the Queen of *Scots*; and she had done it, (at the least as much as in her was) if some of the Council had not told her, That neither the Act of the Succession, nor the Last Will and Testament of King *Henry* the Eighth which was built upon it, could otherwise be repealed, than by the general consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. So that being altogether out of hope of having her will upon her siter, of recovering *Calais*, of enjoying the company of her husband, and reigning in the good affection of her injured subjects; she gave her self over to those sorrows which put an end to her life on the 17th. of *November*, some few hours before day, when she had reigned five years and four months wanting two days onely. Her death accompanied within few hours after by that of the Lord Cardinal-Legar, ushered in by the decease of *Purejew*, alias *Wharton*, Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Holyman* the new Bishop of *Bristol*, and *Glyn* of *Rangor*, and followed within two or three months after by *Hopon* Bishop of *Norwich*, and *Brooks* of *Glocester*: As if it had been necessary in point of State, that so great a Princess should not die without some of her Bishops going before, and some coming after. Her funeral solemnized at *Westminster* with a Mass of *Requiem*, in the wonted form, on the 13th. of *December* then next following, and her body interred on the North side of the Chapel of King *Henry* the seventh, her beloved Grandfather.

I shall not trouble my self with giving any other character of this Queen, than what may be gathered from her story, much less in descanting on that which is made by others, who have heaped upon her many gracious praiseworthy qualities, of which, whether she were Mistress or not, I dispute not now. She was indeed a great Benefactresse to the Clergy, in releasing them of their Tenth and First-fruits; but she lost nothing by the bargain, the Clergy paid her back again in their Bills of Subsidies, which growing into an annual payment for seven years together, and every Subsidy amounting to a double Tenth,

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Tenth, conducted as visibly to the constant filling of the Exchequer, as the payment of the Tenth and First-fruits had done before. That which went clearly out of her purse without retribution, was the re-edifying and endowment of some few Religious Houses, mentioned in their proper place; she also built the publick Schools in the University of *Oxon*, for which commemorated in the list of their Benefactors; which being decayed in tract of time, and of no beautiful structure when they were at the best, were taken down about the year 1612. in place whereof, but on a larger extent of ground, was raised that goodly and magnificent Fabrick which we now behold. And though she had no followers in her first foundations, yet by the lair she gave encouragement to two worthy Gentlemen to add two new Colleges in *Oxon* to the former number. Sir *Thomas Pope*, one of the Visitors of Abbeys and other Religious Houses in the time of King *Henry*, had got into his hands a small College in *Oxon*, long before founded by the Bishop and Prior of *Darham*, to serve for a Nursery of Novices to that greater Monastery; with some of the Lands thereunto belonging, and some others of his own, he erected it into a new Foundation, consisting of a President, twelve Fellows, and as many Scholars, and called it by the name of *Trinity College*; A College sufficiently famous for the education of the learned and renowned *Selden*, who needs no other *Titles of honor* than what may be gathered from his Books, and the giving of eight thousand Volumes of all sorts to the *Oxford Library*. Greater, as to the number of Fellows and Scholars, was the Foundation of Sir *Thomas White*, Lord Mayor of *London*, in the year 1553. being the first year of the Queen; who in the place where formerly stood an old House or Hostel, commonly called *Barnards Inne*, erected a new College by the name of *St. John Baptists College*, consisting of a President, fifty Fellows and Scholars, besides some Officers and Servants which belonged to the Chapel, the vacant places to be filled for the most part out of the *Merchants Taylors School* in *London*, of which Company he had been free before his Mayoralty. A College founded as it seems in a lucky hour, affording to the Church in less than the space of eighty years no fewer than two Archbishops and four Bishops, that is to say, Doctor *William Laud* the most renowned Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of whom more else where, Doctor *Tobie Matthews* the most reverend Archbishop of *York*, Doctor *William Juxon* Bishop of *London* and Lord Treasurer, Doctor *John Bucheridge* Bishop of *Elie*, Doctor *Rowland Derschfield* Bishop of *Bristol*, Doctor *Boyl* Bishop of *Cork* in the Realm of *Ireland*. Had it not been for these Foundations, there had been nothing in this Reign to have made it memorable, but onely the calamities and misfortunes of it.

A F F A I R S O F CHURCH and STATE I N ENGLAND,

During the Life, and first eight
years of the Reign

O F
QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Judges Chap. 5. Ver. 7, 8.

7. *The Inhabitants of the Villages ceased, they ceased in Israel, until that I Deborah arose, that I arose a Mother in Israel.*

8. *They chose new gods; then was war in the gates; was there a shield or spear seen amongst forty thousand in Israel?*

Vell. Patere. Hist. lib. 2.

Revocata in Urbem fides, summo a seditio è foro, è campo ambitio, discordia à curia; accessit Magistratus Authoritas, Senatui Majestas, Judicis gravitas; omnibus recte faciendi aut incussa voluntas, aut imposita necessitas.

Martial. Epigr. lib. 1.

Hæc jam feminea vidimus acta manu.

L O N D O N ,

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W. Palmer. Anno 1660.



The Parentage, Birth, and first Fortunes
of the Princeſſe

ELIZABETH,

The ſecond Daughter of King *Henry* the
Eighth, before her coming to the CROWN.

*With a true Narrative of the firſt Loves of
King Henry the Eighth, to Queen Anne
Bollen. The Reaſons of his alienating of his
firſt affections, and the true cauſes of her
woful and calamitous death.*



ELIZABETH the youngſt daughter of King *Henry* the 8th. was born at *Greenwich* on the 7th. of *September* (being the Eve of the Nativicy of the Virgin *Mary*) 1533. begotten on the body of *Queen Anne Bollen*, the eldeſt daughter of *Thomas Bollen* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and of *Elizabeth* his wife, one of the daughters of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and Earl Marſhal of *England*. The Family of the *Bollens* before this time neither great nor ancient, but highly raiſed in reputation by the marriage of the Lady *Anne*, and the ſubſequent birth of *Queen Elizabeth*; the firſt riſe thereof coming out of the City in the perſon of Sir *Geoffrey Bollen* Lord Mayor of *London*, Anno 1457. which *Geoffrey* being ſon of one *Geoffrey Bollen* of *Sulle* in *Norfolk*, was rather of Sir *William Boken* of *Blickling* in the ſaid County, who took to wife the Lady *Margaret*, daughter and one of the heirs of *Thomas Butler* Earl of *Ormond*, brother and heir of *James Butler* Earl of *Wiltſhire*. Of this marriage came Sir *Thomas Bollen* above mentioned, employed in ſeveral Embaſſies by King *Henry* the Eighth, to whom he was Treafurer of the Houſhold, and by that name enrolled amongſt the Knights of the Garter, Anno 1523. advanced about two years after (being the ſeventeenth of that King) to the ſtile and title of Viſcount *Rochford*, and finally in reference to his mothers extraction created Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*, 1529. But dying without iſſue male ſurviving, the title of *Ormond* was reſtored to the next heir male of the *Butlers* in *Ireland*, and that of *Wiltſhire* given by King *Edward* the 6th. to Sir *William Paulet*, being then great Maſter of the Houſhold. And as for that of Viſcount *Rochford*

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it lay dormant after his decease, till the 6th. of July, Anno 1621. when conferred by King James on Henry Cary, Lord Hunston, the son of John, and Grandchild of Henry Cary, whom Queen Elizabeth in the first year of her Reign, made Lord Cary of Hunston, he being the son and heir of Sir William Cary, one of the Esquires of the body to King Henry the 8th. by the Lady Mary Bollen his wife, the youngest daughter, and one of the Coheirs of the said Thomas Bollen, Viscount Rochfort, and Earl of Wiltshire.

Such being the estate of that Family, which became afterwards so fortunate in the production of this Princess to the Realm of England, we must in the next place enquire more particularly into the life and story of Queen Anne her Mother. Who in her tender years attending on Mary the French Queen to the Court of France, was by her Father, after the return of the said Queen, placed in the retinue of the Dutchess of Alanzone, the beloved sister of King Francis, where she not only learnt the language, but made her self an exact Mistress both of the Gaities and Garb of the great French Ladies. She carried such a stock of natural graces, as render'd her superlatively the most admired beauty in the Court of France; and returned thence with all those advantages which the civilities of France could add to an English beauty. For so it hapned, that her Father being sent with Sir Anthony Brown, Anno 1527. to take the oath of the French King to a solemn league not long before concluded betwixt the Crowns, resolv'd to bring back his daughter with him, to see what fortunes God would send her in the Court of England. Where being Treasurer of the household, it was no hard matter for him to prefer her to Queen Katherine's service, on whom she waited in the nature of a Maid of Honour; which gave the King the opportunity of taking more than ordinary notice of her parts and person. Nor was it long before the excellency of her beauty, adorned with such a gratefulness of behaviour, appeared before his eyes with so many charms, that not able to resist the assaults of Love, he gave himself over to be governed by those affections which he found himself unable to Master. But he found no such easie task of it as he had done before in bringing Mrs Elizabeth Blunt, and others, to be the subjects of his lusts; all his temptations being repelled by this vertuous Lady, like arrows shot in vain at a rock of Adamants. She was not to be told of the Kings loose love to several Ladies, and knew that nothing could be gained by yielding unto such desires but contempt and infamy, though for a while disguised and palliated by the plausible name and Courtly Title of a Princess Mistress. The humble and modest opposition of the Lady Gray, to the inordinate affections of King Edward the 4th. advanced her to his bed as a lawful wife, which otherwise she had been possessed of by no better title than that of Jane Shore, and his other Concubines. By whose example Mistress Bollen is resolv'd to steer her courses, and not to yield him any further favours, than what the honour of a Lady, and the modesty of a virgin, might inoffensively permit to so great a King.

But so it chanced, that before her coming back from the Court of France, the King began to be touch'd in conscience about his marriage with the Queen, upon occasion of some doubts which had been cast in the way both by the Ministers of the Emperour, and the French King, as touching the legitimization of his daughter Mary. Which doubts being started at a time when he stood on no good terms with the Emperour, and was upon the point of breaking with him, was secretly fomented by such of the Court as had advanced the party of Francis, and sought alwaies to alienate him from the friendship of Charles. Amongst which none more forward than Cardinal Wolfe, who for almost twenty years together, had governed his affairs with such power and prudence. The Emperour had disgusted the ambitious Prelate, not only by crossing him in his sure for the Popedom but by denying him the Archbishoprick of Toledo, of which he had once given him no small hopes. And now the Cardinal is resolv'd to cry quits for both, thinking himself as much affronted in the failer of his expectations, as if he had been disgracefully deprived of some present

sent possession. No way more open to his ends, than by working on that scruple of Conscience which had been raised unto his hand; to the advance whereof, the reservedness of the Queens behaviour, and the inequality of her years, which render'd her the less agreeable to his conversation, gave no small advantage. In which conjuncture it was no hard matter to persuade him unto any way which might give satisfaction to his conscience, or content to his fancy, especially if it came accompanied with such a change as promised him the hopes of a son and heir, or at the least of a more lawful and unquestioned issue. And then what fitter wife could be found out for him than *Madam Rheane*, one of the daughters of King *Lewis* the 12th. and sister to the wife of the King then Reigning. By which alliance he might be able to justify his separation from the bed of *Katherine*, not only against *Charles* her Nephew, but against all Kings and Emperors in the Christian world, taking the Pope into the reckoning. A proposition so agreeable to the Kings own thoughts (who began to grow weary of his Queen) that he resolved to buy the amity of *Francis* at any rate; to which end he not only made a league with him against the Emperour, when the condition of the *French* was almost desperate, but remitted unto *Francis* a very vast debt, to the value of 500000 Crowns, partly accruing unto him by some former contracts, and partly for the payment of forfeiture incurred by *Charles*, with which the *French* had charged himself by the capitulations.

And so far matters went on smoothly to the Cardinals wish, and possibly might have succeeded in all particulars, had not the plot miscarried by the return of Viscount *Rochfort*, and the planting of *Anne Bollen* in the Court. The admirable attractions of which young Lady, had drawn the King so fast unto her, that in short time he gave her an absolute sovereignty over all his thoughts. But so long he concealed his affections from her, that a great league and entercourse was contracted betwixt her and the young Lord *Percy*, the eldest son of *Henry* Lord *Percy*, the 5th. Earl of *Northumberland* of that Name and Family; who being brought up in the Cardinals service, had many opportunities of confirming an acquaintance with her, when either his own pleasure or his Lords affairs, occasioned his waiting at the Court. But these compliances on both sides, neither were, nor probably could be so closely carried as not to come unto the knowledge of the jealous King, impatient of a Rival in his new affections, and yet resolved to carry the business in such a manner, as to give no distaste to her whom he so much loved. The Cardinal is therefore dealt with to remove that obstacle, to which he readily condescended, not looking further at the present into the design, but that the King intended to appropriate the young Lady to his private pleasures, as he had done many others in the times foregoing. A messenger is thereupon dispatched to the Earl of *Northumberland*, who at his coming to the Court, is informed by the Cardinal, how unadvisedly the Lord *Percy* had entred himself into the affections of *Mrs Bollen*, one of the daughters of Viscount *Rochfort*, not only without his fathers privity, but against the express will of the King, who was resolved to dispose otherwise of her. And this he urged upon the strength of an old prerogative, both then and after exercised by the Kings of *England*, in not permitting any of the Nobility to contract marriages, and make alliances with one another, but by their consents.

The old Earl started at the news, and fearing nothing more than the Kings displeasure, calls for his son, and presently shows him in this manner. "Son, (quoth he) even as thou art, and ever hast been, a proud, disdainful, and very unchristy Maiter, so hast thou now declared thy self: Wherefore what joy, what pleasure, what comfort, or what solace can I conceive in thee? that thus without discretion hast abused thy self, having neither regard to me thy natural father, nor to thy natural Sovereign Lord the King, to whom all honest and loyal subjects bear faithful obedience, nor yet to the prosperity of thy own estate, but hast so unadvisedly ensnared thy self to her, for
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“whom thou hast purchased the Kings high displeasure, intolerable for any
 “subject to sustain. And but that the King doth consider the lightness of thy
 “head, and wilful quality of thy person, his displeasure and indignation
 “were sufficient to cast me and all my posterity into utter ruine and destru-
 “ction. But he being my singular good Lord, and favourable Prince, and my
 “Lord Cardinal my very good friend, hath and doth clearly excuse me in thy
 “lewdness, and doth rather lament thy folly than malign thee, and hath advi-
 “sed an order to be taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound
 “than we conceive of. I pray to God that this may be sufficient admonition
 “to thee, to use thy self more wisely hereafter. For assure thy self, if thou
 “dost not amend thy prodigality, thou wilt be the last Earl of our house.
 “For thy natural inclination, thou art matterful and prodigal to consume all
 “that thy progenitors have with so great travail gathered and kept together
 “with honour. But having the Kings Majesty my singular good Lord, I trust
 “(I assure thee) so to order my succession, that thou shalt consume thereof but
 “a little. For I do not intend (I tell thee truly) to make thee heir, for (thanks
 “be to God) I have more boys that I trust will use themselves much better,
 “and prove more like to be wise and honest men, of whom I will chuse the
 “most likely to succeed me.

So said the much offended father, and yet not thinking he had done enough
 for his own security, a marriage is presently concluded for him to the Kings
 good liking, with the Lady *Mary*, one of the daughters of *George Lord Talbot*,
 Earl of *Shrewsbury*. Mrs *Anne Bollen* in the mean time is removed by her fa-
 ther from the Court, to her no small trouble; who knowing nothing of the
 Kings, had willingly admitted the Lord *Percy* into her affections. And under-
 standing by him what had past betwixt him and his father, she conceived such a
 morral grudge against the Cardinal, (whom she looked on as the only cause of
 this separation) that she contributed her best assistance to his final ruine. It
 was about the time when the Kings cause was to be agitated in the *Legantine*
 Court, that he caused her to be sent for out of the Country, to give her at-
 tendance on the Queen as in former times; impatient of a longer absence,
 and fearful of a second Rival, if he should any longer conceal his purpose.
 Which having taken some fit time to disclose unto her, he found in her a ver-
 tue of such strength against all temptations, that he resolves upon the senten-
 cing of the divorce, which he little doubted, to take her to him as the last sole
 object of his wandering loves. A matter not to be concealed from so many
 espials as *Wolfe* had about the King. Who thereupon slackneth his former
 pace in the Kings affairs, and secretly practiseth with the Pope to recall the
 Commission, whereby he was impowred together with *Campegius*, to deter-
 mine in it. *Anne Bollen* formerly offended at his too great haste in breaking
 the compliance betwixt her and *Percy*, is now as much displeased with him
 for his being too slow in sentencing the Kings Divorce. On which as he had
 built the hopes of her future greatness, so she wanted neither will nor oppor-
 tunity to do him ill offices with the King, whom she exasperates against him
 upon all occasions. The King grows every day more open in his carriage to-
 wards her, takes her along with him in his progress, dines with her privately
 in her chamber, and causeth almost all adresses to be made by her in matters of
 the greatest moment.

Resolved to break through all impediments which stood betwixt him and
 the accomplishment of his desires, he first sends back *Campegius* an alien
 born, presently caused *Wolfe* to be indicted and attainted in a *premunire*, and
 not long after by the counsel of *Thomas Cromwel* (who formerly had been the
 Cardinals Solicitor in his *Legantine* Court) involves the whole body of the
 Clergy in the same crime with him. By the persuasions of this man, he re-
 quires the Clergy to acknowledge him for *supreme head on earth* of the Church
 of *England*, to make no new Canons and Constitutions, nor to execute any such
 when made, but by his consent. And having thus brought his own Clergy
 under

under his command, he was the less solicitous how his matters went in the Court of Rome; to which the Pope recalled his cause, which he either quickened or retarded, as rather stood with his own interests, than the Kings concerns. The King being grown more confident in the equity and justice of his cause, by the determinations of many of the Universities in France and Italy, better assured than formerly of his own Clergy at home, and wanting no encouragement from the French King to speed the business, advanced the Lady Anne Bollen (for by this time her father for her sake was made Earl of Wiltshire) to the Title, Style, and Dignity of *Marchioness of Pembroke*, on the first of September, 1532. assigning her a pension of a thousand pounds *per annum* out of the Bishoprick of Durham. And now the time of the intended interview betwixt him and the French King drawing on a pace, he takes her along with him unto Calais, where she entertained both Kings at a curious Mask. At what time having some communication about the Kings intended marriage, the French encouraged him to proceed, assuring him that if the matter should be questioned by the Pope or Emperour, (against whom this must make him sure to the party of France) to assist him with his utmost power, what fortune soever should befall him in it. On which assurance from the French, the marriage is privately made up on the 14th. of November then next following, the sacred Rites performed by Dr Rowland Lee, whom afterwards he preferred to the See of Lichfield, and made Lord President of Wales. None present at the Nuptials but Archbishop Cranmer, the Duke of Norfolk, the Father, Mother, and Brother of the new Queen, and possibly some other of the Confidants of either side, whom it concerned to keep it secret at their utmost peril.

But long it could not be concealed. For finding her self to be with child, she acquaints the King with it, who presently dispatcheth George Lord Rochford her only brother, to the Court of France, as well to give the King advertisement of his secret marriage, as to desire him not to fail of performing his promises if occasion were, and therewithall to crave his counsel and advice how it was to be published, since it could not long be kept unknown. It is not to be doubted, but that the French King was well pleased with the news of a marriage, which must needs fasten England to the party of France, and that he would be forward enough to perform those promises which seemed so visible to conduce to his own preservation. And as for matter of advice, it appeared unnecessary, because the marriage would discover it self by the Queens being with child, which could no longer be concealed. And being to be concealed no longer, on Easter Eve the twelfth of April, she shewed her self openly as Queen, all necessary officers and attendants are appointed for her; an Order issueth from the Parliament at that time sitting, that Katherine should no longer be called Queen, but *Princesse Dowager*. Cranmer the new Archbishop repairs to Dunstable, erects his Consistory in the Priory there, cites Katherine fifteen dayes together to appear before him, and in default of her appearance proceedeth judicially to the sentence, which he reduceth into writing in due form of Law, and caused it to be openly publish'd (with the consent of his Colleagues) on Friday the 23d. of May. And on the Sunday sevensnight being then Whitsunday, the new Queen was solemnly crowned by the said Archbishop; conducted by water from Greenwich to the Tower of London, May 29. from thence through the chief streets of the City unto Westminster Hall, May 31. and the next day from Westminster Hall to the Abby Church to receive the Crown, a solemn tilting before the Court gate on the morrow after. All which was done with more magnificence and pomp, than ever had been seen before on the like occasion; the particulars whereof, he that lists to see, may find them punctually set down in the Annals of John Stow, fol. 563, 564, &c.

And he may find there also the solemnities used at the Christning of the Princess Elizabeth, born upon Sunday the 7th. day of September, and Christned on the Wednesday following, with a pomp not much inferiour to the Coronation;

1532.

tion; her Godfather being the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, her Godmothers, the old Dutchess of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchioness of *Derby*, by whom she was named *Elizabeth*, according to the name of the Grandmothers on either side. Not long after Christmass then next following began the Parliament, in which the Kings marriage with the Lady *Katherine* was declared unlawful, her daughter the Lady *Mary* to be illegitimate, the Crown to be entailed on the Kings heirs males, to be begotten on the body of the present Queen, and for default of such issue on the Princess *Elizabeth*; an oath devised in maintenance of the said succession, and not long after, *Moor* and *Fisher* executed (as before was said) for the refusal of that oath. The Kings cause all this while depended in the Court of *Rome*, not like to be determined for him, and yet the Pope not willing to declare against him, till by the solicitation of the Emperour, and for the vindication of the honour of the See Apostolick, he seemed to be necessitated to some acts of rigour, which at last proved the total ruine of his power and party in the Realm of *England*.

1555.

For the new Queen considering that the Pope and she had such different interesses, that they could not both subsist together, resolved upon that course which Nature and self-preservation seem'd to dictate to her. But finding that the Popes was too well intrenched to be dislodged upon a sudden, it was advised by *Cromwel* (made Mr of the Rolls on her commendation) to begin with taking in the out-works first; which being gained, it would be no hard matter to bear him out of his trenches. In order whereunto a visitation is begun in the month of *October*, 1535. in which a diligent enquiry was to be made into all Abbies, Pories, and Nunneries within the Kingdome; *Cromwel* himself, *Dr Lee*, and others, being named for Visitors. Who governing themselves according to certain instructions of their own devising, dismiss all such religious persons as were under the age of 24. or otherwise were willing to relinquish their several houses, shutting up such from going out, as were not willing to accept the benefit of that permission; all such religious persons as departed thence, to be gratified by the Abbot or Prior with a Priests Gown, and forty shillings in money; and all Nuns to be put into a secular habit, and suffered to go where they would. They took order also, that no men should go into the houses of women, nor women into the houses of men, but only for the hearing of Divine Service; making thereby that course of life less pleasing unto either Sex, than it had been formerly. They also inventaried, or else directly took away the Relicks and chief Jewels out of most of the said Monasteries or Religious houses, pretending that they took them for the Kings use, but possibly keeping them for their own. And having made a strict and odious inquisition into the lives of all the Votaries of both Sexes, they return'd many of them guilty of exorbitant lusts, and much carnal uncleanness; representing their offences in such multiplying glasses, as made them seem both greater in number, and more horrid in nature, than indeed they were. And in the *February* following was held a Parliament, in which all Monasteries, Pories, and other Religious houses under the yearly value of 200 l. were granted unto the King and his heirs for ever.

The number of the Houses then suppressed were said to be 376, their yearly Rents then valued at the sum of thirty two thousand pounds and upwards, their movable goods, as they were sold at *Robin Hood's* penny-worths, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds and more. The Religious persons thus despoiled of their Estates, either betook themselves to some of the greater Houses of their several Orders, or went again into the world, and followed such secular businesses as were offered to them towards the getting of their livings. Much lamentation made in all parts of the Country, for want of that relief and sustenance which the poor of all sorts received daily from their hospitaliry, and for the want of that employment which they found continually in and about those Houses, in their several Trades; insomuch that it was commonly thought, that more than ten thousand persons, as well Masters as

servants,

Servants, had lost their livelihoods by that act of suppression. To the passing whereof, the Bishops and the Mitred Abots, which made the prevalent part of the House of Peers, contributed their Votes and Suffrages as the other did; whether it were out of pusillanimity, as not daring to appear in behalf of their brethren, or out of a weak hope, that the Rapacity of the Queen and her Ministers would proceed no farther, it is hard to say. Certain it is, that by their improvident assenting to the present Grant, they made a rod for their own backs, (as the saying is) with which they were sufficiently scourged within few years after, till they were all finally whipt out of the Kingdom, though the new Queen, for whose sake *Cromwel* had contrived the plot, did not live to see it.

For such is the uncertainty of human affairs, that when she thought her self most safe and free from danger, she became most obnoxious to the ruine prepared for her. It had pleased God on the eighth of *January* to put an end unto the calamities of the virtuous but unfortunate Queen, into whose Bed she had succeeded; the news whereof she entertained with such contentment, that she caused her self to be apparalled in lighter colours than was agreeable to the season, or the sad occasion; Whereas if she had rightly understood her own condition, she could not but have known, that the long life of *Katherine* was to be her best preservative against all changes, which the Kings loose affections, or any other alterations in affairs of State, were otherwise like to draw upon her. But this contentment held not long, for within three weeks after she fell in travail, in which she miscarried of a Son, to the extrem grief of the Mother, and discontent of the Father, who looked upon it as an argument of Gods displeasure, as being as much offended at this second Marriage as he was at the first. He then began to think of his ill fortune with both his Wives, both Mariages subject to dispute, and the Legitimation of his daughter *Elizabeth* as likely to be called in question in the time succeeding, as that of *Mary* in the former. He much therefore cast about for another wife, of whose marriage and his issue by her there could arise no controversy, or else must die without an heir of his own body, or leave the Crown to be contended for by those, who though they were of his own body, could not be his heirs. His eye had carried him to a Gentlewoman in the Queens attendance, of extraordinary beauty, and superlative modesty; on the enjoying of whom he so fixed his thoughts, that he had quite obliterated all remembrance of his former loves. As resolute, but more private in this pursuit than he was in the former; yet not so private, but that the Queen (so piercing are the eyes of Love and Jealousie) had took notice of it, and signified her suspicions to him, of which, more anon.

In the mean time she was not wanting in all those honest arts of Love, Obsequiousness, and Entertainment, which might endear her to the King, who now began to be as weary of her gaities and jocular humor, as formerly of the gravity and reservedness of *Katherine*. And causing many eyes to observe her actions, they brought him a return of some particulars, which he conceived might give him a sufficient ground to proceed upon. The Lord *Rochfort*, her own brother, having some sure to obtain by her of the King, was found whispering to her on her bed when she was in it; which was interpreted for an act of some great dishonor done or intended to the King, as if she had permitted him some farther liberties than were consistent with the innocent familiarity between brothers and sisters: In the aggravating whereof with all odious circumstances, none was more forward than the Lady *Rochfort* her self, whether out of any jealousy which she had of her husband, or whether out of some inveterate hatred which she had to the Queen, (according to the peccant humor of most sisters in law) is not clearly known. It was observed also, that Sir *Henry Norris*, Groom of the Stool unto the King, had entertained a very dear affection for her, not without giving himself some hopes of succeeding in the Kings bed, (as Sir *Thomas Seimer* after did) if she chanced to survive him, And it

it appears that she had given him opportunity to make known his affection, and to acquaint her with his hopes, which she expressed, by twitting him in a frolick humor with *'looking after dead mens shoes.* *Weston* and *Breerton*, both Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, were observed also to be very diligent in their services and addresses to her, which were continued rather to proceed from love than duty, though no reciprocation could be found to proceed from her, but what was agreeable to that affability and general debonairness which she shewed to all men.

1536. Out of these premises, weak and imperfect though they were, the King resolves to come to a conclusion of his aims and wishes. A solemn Tilting was maintained at *Greenwich* on the first of *May*, at which the King and Queen were present, the Lord *Rochfort* and Sir *Henry Norris* being principal Challenggers. The Queen by chance let fall her handkerchief, which was taken up by one of her supposed favourites who stood under the window, whom the King perceived to wipe his face with it. This taken by the King to be done of purpose, and thereupon he leaves the Queen and all the rest to behold the Sports, and goeth immediately in great haste to *Westminster*, to the no small amazement of all the company, but the Queen especially. *Rochfort* and *Norris* are committed to the Tower on the morrow after, to which unfortunate place the Queen her self, on the same day, was conducted by Sir *Thomas Audley* Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Cromwel* then Master of the Rolls and principal Secretary, and *Kingston* Lieutenant of the Tower. Informed by them upon the way of the Kings suspicions, she is said to have fallen upon her knees, and with dire imprecations to have disavowed the crime (whatsoever it were) wherewith she was charged; beseeching God so to regard her as the justness of her cause required. After which, *William Breerton* Esquire, and Sir *Francis Weston* of the King's Privy Chamber, together with *Mark Smeaton* one of the King's Musicians, were committed on the same occasion.

These persons being thus committed, and the cause made known, the next care was to find sufficient Evidence for their condemnation. It was objected, that the Queen growing out of hope of having any issue male by the King, had used the company of the Lord *Rochfort*, *Norris*, *Breerton*, and *Weston*, and possibly of *Smeaton* also; involving her at once in no smaller crimes than those of Adultery and Incest. For proof whereof, there was no want of any artifices, in sifting, canvassing, and intangling, not onely the Prisoners themselves, but all such Witnesses of either sex, as were thought fit to be examined by the Kings Commissioners; from none of which they were able to get any thing by all their Arts, which might give any ground for her conviction; but that *Mark Smeaton* had been wrought on to make some confession of himself to her dishonor, out of a vain hope to save his own life by the loss of hers. Concerning which, *Cromwel* thus writes unto the King, after the Prisoners had been thoroughly examined in the Tower by the Lords of the Council, *Many things* (saith he) *have been objected, but nothing confessed; onely some circumstances have been acknowledged by Mark.* To which effect, and other the particulars before remembered, take here a Letter written by Sir *Edward Baynton* to Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, being then Treasurer of the Household, and not long after raised unto the Title and Title of Earl of *Southampton*.

Mr. Treasurer,

THU shall be to advertise you, that here is much communication, that no man will confess any thing against her at all, but onely Mark, of any actual thing. Wherefore in my foolish conceit it should much touch the Kings honor if it should no further appear. And I cannot believe, but that the other two be as far culpable as ever was he; and I think assuredly the one keepeth the others counsel, as many conclusions in my mind causeth me to think, and especially of the communication that was last between the Queen, Mr. Norris, Mr. Amner, and me; as I would, if I might speak with Mr. Secretary and you together, more plainly expresse my mind.

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If the case be, that they have confessed (like witnesses) a'l things as they could do, then the matter is at a point. I have mused much at the manner of M^{rs}esse Margery, which hath used her self, strangely towards me of late, being her friend so much as I have been. But no doubt it cannot be chosen but she must be of counsell therewith; for there hath been great friendship between the Queen and her of late. I hear further, that the Queen standeth stiffly in her opinion, that she will die in it, which I think is in the trust that she hath of the other two. But if your businesse be such as you cannot come, I would gladly come and wait on you, if you think it requisite.

It appears also by a Letter of Sir William Kingston, that he had much communication with her when she was his prisoner, in which her language seemed to be broken and distressed betwixt tears and laughter, out of which nothing could be gathered, but that she exclaimed against Norris, as if he had accused her. It was further signified in that Letter, that she named some others, who had obsequiously applied themselves to her love and service, acknowledging such passages, though not sufficient to condemn her, as shewed, she had made use of the utmost liberty which could be honestly allowed her. Most true it is, (as far as any truth can be collected from common and credible reports) that Norris being much favoured by the King, was offered pardon for his life, if he would confess the crimes which he was accused of. To which he made this generous answer, *That in his conscience he thought her guiltlesse of the crimes objected, but whether she were or no, he could not accuse her of any thing; and that he had rather undergo a thousand deaths than betray the innocent.* So that upon the point there was no evidence against her, but the confession of Smeaton, and the calumnies of the Lady Rochford, of which the one was fooled into that confession by the hope of life, which notwithstanding was not pardoned; and the other most deservedly lost her head within few years after, for being accessary to the Adulteries of Queen Katherine Howard. And yet upon this Evidence she was arraigned in the great Hall of the Tower of London on the 15th. of May, and pronounced guilty by her Peers, of which her own father (which I cannot but behold as an act of the highest tyranny) was compelled to be one. The Lord Rochford and the rest of the prisoners were found guilty also, and suffered death on the 17th. day of the same month, all of them standing stoutly to the Queens and their own integrity; as it was thought that Smeaton also would have done, but that he still flattered himself with the hopes of life, till the loss of his head disabled him from making the retraction. The like death suffered by the Queen on the second day after, some few permitted to be present, rather as witnesses than spectators of her final end. And it was so ordered by the advice of Sir William Kingston, who signified in his Letters to one of the Council, that he conceived it best, that a reasonable number onely should be present at the Execution, because he found by some discourse which he had had with her, that she would declare her self to be a good woman, for all men, but for the King, at the hour of death. Which declaration she made good, going with great cheerfulness to the Scaffold, praying most heartily for the King, and standing constantly on her innocence to the very last.

So dyed this great and gallant Lady, one of the most remarkable mockeries and disports of fortune which these last ages have produced, raised from the quality of a privat Lady to the bed of a King, crowned on the Throne, and executed on the Scaffold; the fabrick of her power and glories being six years at the least in building, but cast down in an instant; the splendor and magnificence of her Coronation seeming to have no other end, but to make her the more glorious Sacrifice at the next alteration of the Kings affections. But her death was not the onely mark which the King did aim at; If she had onely lost her head, though with the loss of her honor, it would have been no bar to her daughter Elizabeth from succeeding her father in the Throne, and he must

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have his bed left free from all such pretensions, the better to draw on the following marriage. It was thought necessary therefore, that she should be separated from his bed by some other means than the Axe or Sword, and to be legally divorced from her in a Court of Judicature, when the sentence of death might seem to have deprived her of all means, as well as of all manner of desire to dispute the point. Upon which ground *Norris* is practised with to confesse the Adultery, and the Lord *Percy* (now Earl of *Northumberland*) who was known to have made love unto her in her former times, to acknowledge a Contract. But as *Norris* gallantly denied the one, so the Lord *Percy* could not be induced (though much laboured to it) to confesse the other. For proof whereof we have this Letter of his own hand writing, directed to Secretary *Cromwel* in these following words.

Mr Secretary,

This shall be to signifie unto you, that I perceive by Sir Raynald Carnaby, that there is supposed to be a pre-contrall between the Queen and me. Whereupon I was not only examined upon my oath before the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, but also received the blessed Sacrament upon the same before the Duke of Norfolk, and others of the Kings Highnesse Council, learned in the spiritual Law; assuring You Mr Secretary by the said oath and blessed body which afore I received, and hereafter mean to receive, that the same may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contrall or promise of marriage betwixt her and me. At Newington Green the 13th. of May, in the 28th year of the reign of Our Soverain Lord King Henry the 8th.

Yours assured,
H. Northumberland.

But notwithstanding these denials, and that neither the Adultery was confessed, nor the Contract proved, some other ground was found out to dissolve the marriage; though what it was doth not appear upon Record. All which occurs in reference to it is a solemn instrument under the seal of Archbishop *Cranmer*, by which the marriage is declared (on good and valuable reasons) to be null and void, no reason being exprest particularly for the ground thereof. Which sentence was pronounced at *Lambeth* on the 17th. of May, in the presence of Sir *Thomas Hadly*, Lord Chancellor, *Charles Duke of Suffolk*, *John Earl of Oxon*, *Robert Earl of Suffex*, *William Lord Sandys*, Lord Chancellor of his Majesties household, *Thomas Cromwel*, Master of the Rolls and principal Secretary, then newly put into the office of Vicar General, Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, Treasurer, and Sir *William Paulet* Controller of the Kings household, *Thomas Bedil*, Arch-Deacon of *Cornwal*, and *John Triguwel*, Dr of the Lawes, all being of the Privy Council. Besides which, there were present also *John Oliver*, Dean of Kings College in *Oxon*, *Richard Guent*, Arch-Deacon of *London*, and Dean of the Arches, *Edmund Bonner*, Arch-Deacon of *Leicester*, *Richard Leighon*, Arch Deacon of *Buckingham*, and *Thomas Lee*, Doctor of the Lawes; as also Dr *Richard Sampson*, Dean of the Chapel Royal, who appeared as Proctor for the King, together with Doctor *Nicholas Wotton*, and Doctor *John Barbour*, appointed Proctors for the Queen. By the authority of which great appearance, more than for any thing contain'd particularly in the act or instrument, the said sentence of Divorce was approved by the Prelates and Clergy assembled in their Convocation on the ninth of June, and being so confirmed by them, it received the like approbation by Act of Parliament within few dayes after; in which Act there also passed a clause, which declared the Lady *Elizabeth* (the only issue of this marriage) to be illegitimate. What else concerns this unfortunate Lady, together with some proof of divers things before delivered, cannot be more pathetically exprest, than by her self, bemoaning her misfortunes to the King, in this following Letter.

Sir,

Sir,

YOUR Graces displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confesse a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such a one whom you know to be my ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message, than I rightly conceived your meaning: And if (as you say) confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your commands; but let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded: And to speak a truth, never Prince had never wife more loyal in all duty, or in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bollen. With which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God, and your Graces pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time forget my self in my exaltation or received Queenship, but that I looked alwaies for such an alteration as now I find; the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Graces fancy, the least alteration whereof, I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject.

You have chosen me from a low estate to be your Queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you find me worthy of such honour, Good your Grace let not any light fancy or bad counsel of my enemies, withdraw your Princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your Good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant Princesses, your daughter. Try me good King, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; Tea let me receive an open trial, for my trials shall fear no open shames; then shall you see either my innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and my offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am; whose name I could somewhat since have pointed to, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander might bring you the enjoying of a desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin herein, and likewise my enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgement seat, where both you and my self must shortly appear, and in whose judgement I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, my innocency shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, that my self may bear the burthen of your Graces displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor Gentlemen, who as I understand are in straight imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Bollen hath been pleasing in your ears, let me obtain this last request, and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with my earnest prayers to the Trinity, so have you in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions.

From my dolefull
prison in the Tower,
May the 6th. 1536.

Your most loyal and faithful
Wife, Anne Bollen.

I had not dwelt so long upon the story of this Queen, but that there is so much which depends upon it in reference to the Honour, Birth and Title of the Princess Elizabeth; whose Reign of 44 years, accompanied with so many signal blessings both at home and abroad, is used by some for a strong Argument of her mothers innocence. For further proof whereof, they behold the Kings precipitate and hasty marriage, casting himself into the bed of a third, before the

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sword was dried from the blood of his second wife. But of these miseries and calamities which beset her mother, the Princess was too young (as not being fully three years old) to take any notice. And when she came unto the years of understanding, she had been much sweetened and repaired by her fathers goodness, By whose last will she was assured of her turn in the succession to the Crown, if her brother and sister died without lawful issue; allowed the same yearly maintenance, and allotted the same portion in marriage, with the Princess *Mary*. But nothing more declares his good affection to her, than the great care he took of her education; committed to the government and tuition of *Roger Ascam*, a right learned man, she attained unto the knowledge of the Greek and Latine; and by the help of other School-masters, of the Modern Languages. Inasmuch that she very well understood the Greek, and was able readily to express her self in the Latine tongue; as appears by an Oration which she made at her entertainment in *Cambridge*, and the smart answer which she gave *ex tempore* to a Polish Ambassador, of which we may hear more in their proper place. And as for the *Italian* and the *French*, she spake them with as much facility and elegance, as if they had been natural to her. And if some times she made use of Interpreters when she conversed with the Ambassadors of foreign Princes, it rather was to keep her State, than that she could not entertain discourse with them in their proper languages. Her person may be best known by her pictures, and the perfections of her mind by her following government. Suffice it in this place to know, that she seemed to be made up of Modesty and Majesty in an equal mixture; and was so moderate in the course and carriage of her desires, that King *Edward* (who took much delight in her conversation) used commonly to call her his *Sister Temperance*.

Yet notwithstanding all these personal Graces, I do not find that she was sought in marriage in the time of King *Henry*; the blot of infamy which had been laid upon her Mother, serving as a bar to her preferment amongst foreign Princes. In the beginning of King *Edward's*, she was aimed at by *Sr Thomas Seymour*, a brother of the Lord Protector *Sommersetts*, for the advancing of his lofty and ambitious projects. And in the latter end thereof, propounded to the eldest son of the King of *Denmark*. But it was propounded only and not pursued, whether neglected by that King for the former reason, or intermitted by her own aversness from marriage, we are yet to seek. But in the first year of Queen *Mary*, she was desired by *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, the eldest son of *Henry* Marquis of *Exeter*, descended from a daughter of King *Edward* the 4th. which proved so much to the displeasure of the Queen, that it became dangerous to both of them, as was shewed before. For notice of the Queens displeasure having been took by some of great place about her, they were both drawn into suspicion of being privy at the least unto *Wyat's* rebellion, (raised on the noise of the Queens marriage with the Prince of *Spain*) both of them clapt in prison upon that account, and so detained for a long time, though both acquitted publickly by *Wyat* at the time of his death.

But nothing so much alienated the Queens affection from her, as the difference which was between them in the cause of Religion, occasioned and continued by their several interests. For it concerned Queen *Mary* to maintain the Pope and his Religion, her mothers marriage not being otherwise to be defended as good and lawful but by his authority, which marriage, if by his authority made good and lawfull, then must the marriage of *Anne Bolen* be made unlawful, and consequently the Princess *Elizabeth* must actually be made illegitimate by the same authority. Upon which point, as the Queen laboured nothing more than the restoring of the Pope to that Supremacy of which he had been deprived by the two last Kings; so kept she a hard hand upon her sister, as of a different Religion from her, the visible Head of the Protestant party in the Kingdom, and one whom she suspected to have more hearts amongst the Subjects than she had her self. Upon the first surmise of her being privy to *Wyat's* conspiracy, *Sir Edward Hastings* and some others were sent to bring her to

to the Court from her house at *Ashridge*, where though they found her extremely sick, and unfit for travel, yet they compelled her to go with them on the morrow after. Being come unto the Court, she was first kept prisoner in her chamber for the space of a fortnight, neither permitted to come to the Queens presence, nor suffered without much difficulty to write unto her. Charged by the Bishop of *Winchester* and some other Lords with *Wyas*'s practices, she stoutly stood on the denyall, professing her fidelity and loyalty to the Queen her sister. Which notwithstanding she was conveyed by water, on the Sunday commonly called *Palm-Sunday*, to the Tower of *London*; the people being commanded to keep their Churches, for fear she might be rescued and took from them who were to have the conduct of her; by whom compelled to land at the private Stairs, generally called *The Traitors Stairs*, she openly affirmed, *That she landed as true a Subject, being a Prisoner; as ever landed in that place*; and so was brought unto the Lodgings appointed for her, all doors being locked and bolted on her, to her great amazement. *Gage* Countable of the Tower, and at that time Lord Chamberlain also, was her bitter enemy, but more for love to the Pope than for hate to her person; and did not only place a strong Guard about her, but suffered none but those of that ragged Regiment to carry up her dyet to her. Of which, complaint being made to him by some of her servants, he threatened to lay them in such a place where they should neither see the Sun nor Moon, if they troubled him any more about it; though afterwards it was otherwise ordered by the Lords of the Council.

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Wearied with the closeness of her imprisonment, she moved the Lord *Chandour* and the Lord Chamberlain, the one of which was Constable, and the other Lieutenant of the Tower, that she might have the liberty of walking in the private Garden, or at the least in the Queens Lodgings for her better health. In which, not able to gratifie her by their own authority, the Lord *Chandour* obtained leave of the Lords of the Council that she might walk in the Queens Lodgings, himself, the Lord Chamberlain, and three of the Queens Gentlewomen being still in her company; permitted afterwards to enjoy the benefit of the private Garden, the doors were always shut upon her, and order given, that no Prisoners should be suffered by their Keepers to look out of the windows so long as she was walking in it. Such care there was to hinder all access unto her, and opportunity of conference with her, that a little Boy of four years old was threatened to be whipt for presenting her with flowers and nosegays, and a command given by *Gage* that the Boy's father should keep him at home, and not suffer him to come thither any more. But the Tower being thought to be no safe prison for a person of such eminent quality; by reason of its nearness to the capital City, and the great number of prisoners which were kept therein, she was committed to the custody of Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, a man of an untractable and rugged nature, by whom she was conducted with a guard of soldiers to the Mannor of *Woodstock*, which journey she began on the 19th. of *May* being *Trinity Sunday*, and ended by short and easie stages on the Thursday after; her own servants sometimes sequestred from her by command of her Taylor, (as she commonly called him) the people sometimes rated and reviled by him for flocking to see her as she passed, and the Lord *Williams*, though associated in Commission with him, openly quarrelled and reproached for giving her a noble Entertainment at his house of *Ricote*. Being brought to *Woodstock*, she was kept under many locks and bolts, a guard of Russians continually attending before her doors, and the keys every night brought up to *Bedingfield*, who suffered no access unto her upon any occasion; Which being made known to the Lord *Williams*, he solicited the Queen that she might be prisoner in his house, and offered to be surety for her, and was in such a fair way of obtaining his sute, that he caused preparations to be made for her reception; but either by the interposition of the Bishop of *Winchester*, her most mortal

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mortal enemy, or the solicitation of *Bedingsfield*, who possibly might have some other end to work upon her, no effect followed answerably to that expectation.

About this time she was advised by some of her friends to submit her self unto the Queen, which they conceived would be very well taken, and redound much both to her benefit and contentment. To which she answered, That she would never make any submission to them against whom she never had offended in word or deed; adding withall, that if she were guilty of any such offence, she would crave no mercy but the Law, which she was sure she should have had before that time, if any thing could have been proved against her by her greatest enemies; onely she was perswaded to make a sure to the Lords of the Council that she might be suffered to write a Letter to the Queen; not gratified without much difficulty in that easie sure, nor otherwise gratified at all, but that *Bedingsfield* was to stand by her all the time she writ, and have the keeping of her papers till she came to an end, and to be made privy to the conveyance of those Letters when they once were written. At her first coming to the Tower, she had a Priest appointed to say Mass in her chamber; but whether the same Priest or any other was appointed for the like office at her being at *Woodstock*, I find not in the story of her life and troubles. Certain it is, that she resorted to the Mass both before and after, and seemed not a little discontented that she could not gain so much upon the Queen by her outward conformity, as to believe that she was catholickly affected. But the Queen was not the onely one who believed so other, though she behaved her self so warily as not to come within the danger of the Laws, for acting anything in opposition unto that Religion which was then established. Concerning which there goes a story, that when a Popish Priest had urged her very earnestly to declare her judgment touching the Presence of Christ in the blessed Sacrament; she very cautelously resolved the point in these following Verses:

*'Twas God the word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what the Word did make it,
That I believe and take it.*

But all this caution notwithstanding, her aversness from the Church of Rome was known sufficiently, not to be altered while she lived, and therefore she to live no longer to be the occasion of continual fears and jealousies to the Catholick party. The times were then both sharp and bloody, and a great persecution was designed against the Protestants in all parts of the Kingdom; At what time Bishop *Gardiner* was heard to say, That it was to no purpose to cut off the boughs and branches, if they did not also lay the Ax to the root of the Tree. More plainly the Lord *Pages* in the hearing of some of the *Spaniards*, That the King should never have a quiet Government in England, if her head were not stricken off from her shoulders. With which the King being made acquainted, he resolved to use his best endeavour, not onely to preserve her life, but obtain her liberty; For he considered with himself, that if the Princess should be taken away, the right of the Succession would remain in the Queen of *Scots*, who being married to the Daulphin of *France*, would be a means of joyning this Kingdom unto that, and thereby gain unto the *French* the Sovereignty or supream command above all other Kings in *Europe*. He considered also with himself, that the Queen was not very healthy, supposed at that time to be with child, but thought by others of more judgment not to be like to bring him any children to succeed in the Crown, and hoped by such a signall favour to oblige the Princess to accept him for her husband, on the

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Queens decease, by means whereof, he might still continue Master of the treasures and strength of *England*, in all his wars against the *French*, or any other Nation which maligned the greatness of the *Austrian* Family. Upon which grounds he dealt so effectually with the Queen, that order was given about a fortnight after *Easter* to the Lord *Williams* and Sir *Henry Bedingfield* to bring their prisoner to the Court; which command was not more cheerfully executed by the one, than stomach'd and repin'd at by the other. Being brought to *Hampton Court*, where the Queen then lay, she was conducted by a back way to the Prince's Lodgings, where she continued a fortnight and more without being seen or sent to by any body, *Bedingfield* and his guards being still about her; so that she seem'd to have changed the place, but not the Prison, and to be so much nearer danger, by how much she was nearer unto those who had power to work it. At last, a visit was bestowed upon her, but not without her earnest sute in that behalf, by the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellor, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *William Peter*, whom she right joyfully received, desiring them to be a means unto the Queen that she might be freed from that restraint, under which she had been kept so long together.

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Which being said, the Bishop of *Winchester* kneeling down, besought her to submit herself to the Queen, that being, as he said, the only probable expedient to effect her liberty. To whom she answered as before, that rather than she would betray her innocence by such submission, she would be content to lie in prison all the days of her life. For by so doing, (said she) I must confess my self to be an offender, which I never was against her Majesty, in thought, word, or deed; and where no just offence is given, there needs no submission. Some other Overtures being made to the same effect, but all unto as little purpose, she is at last brought before the Queen (whom she had not seen in more than one year before) about ten of the clock at night; before whom falling on her knees, she desired God to preserve her Majesty, not doubting, as she said, but that she should prove her self to be as good a Subject to her Majesty, as any other whosoever. Being first dealt with by the Queen to confess some offence against her self, and afterwards to acknowledge her imprisonment not to be unjust, she absolutely refused the one, and very handsomely declined the other. So that no good being to be gotten on her on either hand, she was dismissed with some uncomfortable words from the present Interview, and about a week after was discharged of *Bedingfield* and his guard of soldiers. It was reported, that King *Philip* stood behind the Hangings, and hearkned unto every word which passed between them, to the end, that if the Queen should grow into any extremity, he might come in to pacifie her displeasures, and calm her passions. He knew full well, how passionately this Princess was beloved by the English Nation, and that he could not at the present more endear himself to the whole body of the people, than by effecting her enlargement; which shortly after being obtained, she was permitted to retire to her own houses in the Country, remaining sometimes in one, and sometimes in another, but never without fear of being remanded unto prison, till the death of *Gardiner*, which hapned on the 12th. of *November* then next following. Some speech there was, and it was earnestly endeavour'd by the Popish Party, of marrying her to *Emanuel Philbert* Duke of *Savoy*, as being a Prince that lived far off, and where she could give no encouragement to any male-contented party in the Realm of *England*; Against which, none so much oppos'd as the King, who had a designe on her for himself, as before is said; and rather for himself than for *Charles* his son (though it be so affirmed by *Cambden*) the Princess being then in the twenty second year of her age, whereas the young Prince was not above seven or eight. So that a resolution being finally fixed of keeping her within the Kingdom, she lived afterwards

afterwards for the most part with less vexations, but not without many watchfull eyes upon all her actions, till it pleased God to call her to the Crown of *England*. She had much profited by the Pedagogie of *Ascham*, and the rest of her Schoolmasters, but never improved her self so much as in the School of Affliction, by which she learned the miseries incident to Subjects, when they groan under the displeasure of offended Princes; that the displeasures of some Princes are both made and cherished by the art of their Ministers, to the undoing of too many innocent persons who do less deserve it; that it is therefore necessary, that the ears of Princes should be open unto all complaints, and their hands ready to receive Petitions from all sorts of people, to the end that knowing their grievances and distresses, they may commiserate them in the one, and afford them remedy in the other; that a good Prince must have somewhat in him of the Priest, who if he be not sensible of the infirmities of his brethren, cannot be thought to intercede so powerfully in their behalf, as when he hath been touched with the true sense and feeling of their extremities; and finally, that the School is never better governed, than by one who hath past through all the forms and degrees thereof, and having been perfectly trained up in the ways of obedience, must know the better how to use both the *Rod* and *Ferula* when he comes to be Master of the rest.

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The first eight years of the Reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH.

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Elizabeth the only child then living of King *Henry* the 8th. succeeded her Sitter in the Throne, on the 17th. of *November*, Anno 1558. *Ferdinand* of *Austria* being then Emperour, *Henry* the 2d. King of the *French*, *Philip* the second King of *Spain*, and *Paul* the 4th. commanding in the Church of *Rome*. Queen *Mary* not long before her death had called a Parliament, which was then sitting when the news thereof was brought unto the Lords in the House of Peers. The newes by reason of the Queens long sickness, not so strange

unto them, as to take them either unresolved or unprovided for the declaring of their duty to the next successor; though some of them perhaps had some secret wishes that the Crown might have fallen rather upon any o her, than upon her to whom it did of right belong; so that upon a short debate amongst themselves, a message is sent to the Speaker of the House of Commons, desiring him, and all the Members of that House, to come presently to them, upon a business of no small importance, to the good of the Kingdom. Who being come, the Lord Chancellor *Heath*, with a composed and settled countenance, not without sorrow enough for the death of the one, or any discontent for the succession of the other, declared unto them in the name of the rest of the Lords, that God had taken to his mercy the late Queen *Mary*, and that the succession to the Crown did belong of right to the Princess *Elizabeth*, whose Title they conceived to be free from all legal questions; that in such cases nothing was more necessary than expedition, for the preventing of all such plots and practices of any discontented or ambitious persons, as might be set on foot to the disturbance of the common quiet; and therefore that their concurrence was desired in proclaiming the new Queen with all speed that might be, they being then so opportunely convened together as the Representatives of the whole body of the Commons of the Realm of *England*; Which being said, the Knights and Burgesses gave a ready consent to that which they had no reason to deny; and they which gave themselves some thoughts of inclining otherwise, conceived their opposition to the general Vote, neither safe nor seasonable. So that immediately the Princess *Elizabeth* was proclaimed

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by the King at Arms, first before *Westminster* Hall door in the Palace Yard, in the presence of the Lords and Commons, and not long after at the Cross in *Cheapside*, and other places in the City, in the presence of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and principal Citizens, to the great joy of all peaceable and well-affecting people.

It was not long before the Princess had advertisement of the death of her sister, together with the general acknowledgement of her just and lawful Title to the Crown Imperial. The news whereof being brought unto her by some of the Lords, she prepared for her removal from *Hatfield* on the *Saturday* after, (being the 19th. of that month) and with a great and Royal train set forwards to *London*. At *Higate* four miles from the City, she was met by all the Bishops then living, who presented themselves before her upon their knees, in testimony of their loyalty and affection to her. In which address as she seemed to express no small contentment, so she gave to each of them particularly her hand to kiss, except only unto *Bonner* of *London*, whose bloody butcheries had render'd him incapable in her opinion of so great a favour. At her first coming to the City she took her lodging in the *Charterhouse*, where she staid some days, till all things in the Tower might be fitted and prepared for her reception. Attended by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with a stately train of Lords and Ladies; and their several followers, she entered by *Cripple gate* into the City, passeth along the wall till she came to *Bishops gate*, where all the Companies of the City in their several Liveries waited her coming in their proper and distinct ranks, reaching from thence until the further end of *Mark Lane*, where she was entertained with a peal of great Ordinance from the Tower. At her entrance into which place, she render'd her most humble thanks to Almighty God for the great and wondrous change of her condition, in bringing her from being a prisoner in that place, to be the Prince of her people, and now to take possession of it as a Royal Palace, in which before she had received so much discomfort. Here she remained till the 5th. day of *December* then next following, and from thence removed by water unto *Somerset House*. In each remove she found such infinite throngs of people, who flocked from all parts to behold her, both by land and water, and testified their publick joy by such loud acclamations, as much rejoiced her heart to hear, and could not but express it in her words and countenance, by which she doubled their affections, and made her self the absolute Mistress at all times of their hands and purses. She had been forged upon the anvil of adversity, which made her of so fine a temper, that none knew better than her self how to keep her State, and yet descend unto the meanest of her subjects in a popular Courtship.

In the mean time the Lords of the Council had given Order for the stopping of all Ports and Havens, that no intelligence of the Queens death might be carried out of the Realm, by which any disturbance might be plotted or contrived against it, till all things were settled here at home. But finding such a general concurrence in all sorts of people, in acknowledging her just and lawful Title, testified by so many outward signs of a publick joy, that there was no fear of any danger from abroad, that bar was speedily removed, and the Ports opened as before to all sorts of passengers. And in the next place care was taken for sending new Commissions unto such Embassadors as resided in the Courts of several Princes, both to acquaint them with the change, and to assure those Princes of the Queens desire to maintain all former leagues between them and the Crown of *England*; but more particular instructions were directed to her Agent in the Court of *Spain*; to whom it was given in charge to represent unto the King, the dear remembrance which she kept of those many humanities received from him in the time of her troubles. Instructions are sent also to Sir *Edward Kern*, the late Queens Agent with the Pope, and now confirmed by her in the same employment, to make his Holiness acquainted with the death of *Queen Mary*, and her succession to the Crown, not with-

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out some desire that all good offices might be reciprocally exchanged between them. But the Pope answered hereunto (according to his accustomed rigour) "That the Kingdom of England was held in Fee of the Apostolick See; that she could not succeed being illegitimate; that he could not contradict the declarations of *Clement* the 7th. and *Paul* the 3d. that it was a great boldness to assume the name and government of it without him; yet being desirous to shew a fatherly affection, if she will renounce her pretensions, and refer her self wholly to his free disposition, he will do whatsoever may be done with the honour of the Apostolick See. To the making of which sudden answer, though there needed no other instigation of his own rough nature, yet many thought that he was put upon it by some Ministers of the Court of France, who fearing nothing more than that *Philip* will endeavour by a second marriage, to assure himself of the possession of the Realm of England, and to that end solicit for a dispensation to make way unto it, thought it expedient to prevent those practices in the first beginning, by putting the Pope upon such counsels, as would be sure to dash all his hopes that way.

But the new Queen having perform'd this office of civility to him, as she did to others, expected not the coming back of any answer, nor took much thought of it when she heard it. She knew full well, that her legitimation and the Popes supremacy could not stand together, and that she could not possibly maintain the one, without a discarding of the other. But in this case it concerned her to walk very warily, and not to unmask her self too much at once, for fear of giving an alarm to the Papal party, before she had put her self into a posture of ability to make good her actions. Many who were imprisoned for the cause of Religion, she restored to liberty at her first coming to the Crown. Which occasioned *Rainsford*, a Buffonly Gentleman of the Court, to make a sute to her in the behalf of *Mathew, Mark, Luke, and John*, who had been long imprisoned in a Latine Translation, that they also might be restored to liberty, and walk abroad as formerly in the English Tounge. To whom she presently made answer, That he should first endeavour to know the minds of the Prisoners, who perhaps desired no such liberty as was demanded. Which notwithstanding, upon a serious debate of all particulars, she was resolved to proceed to a reformation, as the times should serve. In order whereunto, she constituted her Privy Council, which she compounds of such ingredients, as might neither give encouragement to any of those who wish'd well to the Church of Rome, or alienate their affections from her, whose hearts were more inclined to the Reformation. Of such as had been of the Council to the Queen her sister, she retained the Lord Archbishop of York, the Lord Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Darby, and Pembroke, the Lords Clynton and Essingham, Sir Thomas Cheiney, Sir William Petice, Sir John Mason, Sir Richard Sackville, and Doctor Wotton; To whom she added of her own, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parre, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Care, Sir William Cecil, and Sir Nicholas Bacon. To which last, being then Attorney of the Dutchy of Lancaster, and one that had been much employed by her in some former services which had relation to the Law, she committed the custody of the Great Seal on the 22 of December, the Title of Lord Chancellor remaining to Archbishop Heath as before it did, and that of the Lord Keeper being given to Bacon: Which being a new Title, and consequently subject unto some disputes, an Act was passed in the second Parliament of her Reign for investing the said new Lord Keeper, and all that should from thenceforth enjoy that Office, with all the Powers, Privileges, and Preheminences which anciently had been exercised and enjoyed by the Lord Chancellor of England, and for confirming of all sentences and decrees in Chancery, which had or should be made by the said Lord Keepers in all times to come. The like mixture she also caused to be made amongst other her subordinate Ministers, in adding such new Commissioners for the Peace in every County, as either were known to be of the Reformed Religion, or to wish well to it.

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The preferring of so many of the Protestant party, as well to places of employment in their several Countreys, as to the rank and dignity of Privy Counsellors, and the refusal of her hand to Bishop *Banner* at her very first coming to the Crown, were taken to be strong presumptions (as indeed they were) that she intended to restore the Reformed Religion. And as the Papists, in the first beginning of the Reign of Queen *Mary*, hoping thereby the better to obtain her favour, began to build new Altars, and set up the Mass, before they were required so to do by any publick Authority; so fared it now with many unadvised Zelots amongst the Protestants, who measuring the Queens affections by their own, or else presuming that their errors would be taken for an honest zeal, employed themselves as busily in the demolishing of Altars, and defacing of Images, as if they had been licenced and commanded to it by some legal warrant. It happed also, that some of the Ministers which remained at home, and others which returned in great numbers from beyond the Seas, had put themselves into the Pulpits, and bitterly inveighed against the superstitions and corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. The Popish Preachers did the like, and were not sparing of invectives against the others, whom they accused of Heresies, Schisms, and Innovation in the Worship of God. For the suppressing of which disorders on the one side, and those common disturbances on the other, the Queen set out two Proclamations much about one time, by one of which it was commanded, that no man, of what persuasion soever he was in the points of Religion, should be suffered from thenceforth to preach in publick, but onely such as should be licensed by her authority; and that all such as were so licensed or appointed, should forbear preaching upon any point which was matter of Controversie, and might conduce rather to exasperate than to calm mens passions. Which Proclamation was observed with such care and strictness, that no Sermon was preached at *St. Paul's* Cross or any publick place in *London*, till the *Easter* following: At what time the Sermons which were to be preached in the *Spittle* (according to the antient custom) were performed by Doctor *Bill* the *Almoner* to the Queen, and afterwards the first Dean of *Westminster* of the Queens foundation; Doctor *Richard Cox* formerly Dean of *Westminster*, preferred in short time after to the See of *Ely*, and Mr. *Robert Horn* (of whom mention hath been made before at the troubles of *Frankfort*) advanced not long after to the See of *Winchester*. The Rehearsal Sermon, accustomedly preached at *St. Pauls* Crosse on the Sunday following, was undertook by Doctor *Thomas Sampson* then newly returned from beyond the Seas, and after most unhappily made Dean of *Christ-church*. But so it chanced, that when he was to go into the Pulpit, the dore was locked, and the key thereof not to be found, so that a Smith was sent for to break open the dore; and that being done, the like necessity was found of cleansing and making sweet the place, which by a long disuse had contracted so much filth and nastiness, as rendred it unfit for another Preacher.

By the other Proclamation which was published on the 30th. of *December*, it was enjoyned, That no man of what quality or degree soever, should presume to alter any thing in the State of Religion, or innovate in any of the rites and ceremonies thereunto belonging; but that all such rites and ceremonies should be observed in all Parish Churches of the Kingdom, as were then used and retained in her Majesties Chapel, until some further order should be taken in it. Onely it was permitted, and withall required, that the *Lerany*, the *Lords Prayer*, the *Creed*, and the *Ten Commandments*, should be said in the English tongue, and that the *Epistle* and the *Gospel*, at the time of the High Mass, should be read in English, which was accordingly done in all the Churches of *London* on the next Sunday after, being *New-years day*, and by degrees in all the other Churches of the Kingdom also. Further than this, she thought it not convenient to proceed at the present, but that she had commanded the Priest or Bishop (for some

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say it was the one, and some the other) who officiated at the Altar in the Chapel-Royal, not to make any Elevation of the Sacrament, the better to prevent that adoration which was given unto it, and which she could not suffer to be done in her sight without a most apparent wrong to her judgment and conscience; Which being made known in other places, and all other Churches being commanded to conform themselves to the example of the Chapel, the elevation was forborn also in most other places, to the great discontent and trouble of the *Papist* party. And though there was no further progress toward a Reformation by any publick Act or Edict, yet secretly a Reformation in the form of Worship, and consequently in point of Doctrine, was both intended and projected. For making none acquainted with her secret purposes but the Lord Marquis of *Northampton*, *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *John Gray* of *Perge*, (one of the late Duke of *Suffolk*'s brothers) and Sir *William Cecil*, she committed the reviewing of the former Liturgy to the care of Doctor *Parker*, Doctor *Gryndal*, Doctor *Cox*, Doctor *Pilkington*, Doctor *Bill*, Doctor *May*, and Mr. *Whitehead*, together with Sir *Thomas Smith* Doctor of the Laws, a very learned, moderate, and judicious Gentleman. But what they did, and what preferments they attained to on the doing of it, we shall see anon, when we shall find the Book reviewed, confirmed by Act of Parliament, and executed in all parts of the Kingdom, as that Act required.

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But first, some publick Acts of State, and great Solemnities of Court are to be performed. The Funeral of the Queen deceased solemnised on the 12th. of *December* at the Abbey of *Westminster*, and the Sermon preached by Doctor *White* then Bishop of *Winchester*, seemed only as a preamble to the like Solemnity performed at the said place about ten days after, in the Obsequies of *Charles* the 5th. which mighty Emperor having first left the world by resigning his Kingdoms, and retiring himself into a Monastery, as before was said, did after leave his life also in *September* last; and now upon the 24th. of this present *December* a solemn Obsequie was kept for him in the wonted form, a rich Hearse being set up for him in the Church of *Westminster*, magnificently covered with a Pall of gold, his own Embassador serving as the principal Mourner, and all the great Lords and Officers about the Court attending on the same in their ranks and orders. And yet both these, though stately and majestic in their several kinds, came infinitely short of those Pomp and Triumphs which were prepared and reserved for the Coronation. As a Preparation whereunto, she passed from *Westminster* to the *Tower* on the 12th. of *January*, attended by the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and other Citizens, in their Barges, with the Banners and Escutcheons of their several Companies, loud Musick sounding all the way; and the next day she restored some unto their old, and advanced others to new honors, according to her own fancy and their deservings. The Marquis of *Northampton*, who had lain under an Attaindure ever since the first beginning of the Reign of *Queen Mary*, she restored in blood, with all his Titles and Estates. The Lord *Edward Seimer*, eldest son to the late Duke of *Somerset*, was by her reconfirmed in the Titles of Viscount *Beauchamp* and Earl of *Hertford*, which had been formerly enrayled upon him by Act of Parliament. The Lord *Thomas Howard*, second son of *Thomas* the late Duke of *Norfolk*, and brother to *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, (beheaded in the last days of King *Henry* the Eighth) she advanced to the Title of Viscount *Howard of Bindon*. She also preferred Sir *Oliver St. Johns*, who derived himself from the Lady *Margaret* daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, from whom the Queen herself descended, to the dignity of Lord *St. John of Blesso*; and Sir *Henry Carie*, son of Sir *William Carie* Knight, and of *Mary Bollen* his wife, the only sister of *Queen Anne Bollen*, she promoted to the honor and degree of Lord *Carie* of *Hunsdon*.

The ordinary acts of grace and favour being thus dispatched, she prepares the next morning for a triumphant passage through *London* to her Palace at *Westminster*.

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Westminster. But first before she takes her Chariot, she is said to have lifted up her eyes to heaven, and to have used some words to this or the like effect. O Lord Almighty and everliving God, I give thee most hearty thanks that thou hast been so merciful unto me, as to spare me to see this joyful day. And I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou didst with thy true and faithful servants Daniel thy Prophet, whom thou deliverdest out of the den, from the cruelty of the raging greedy Lyons; even so was I overwhelmed, and only by thee delivered; to thee only be thanks, honour, and praise for ever. Amen. Which said, she mounted into her Chariot with so clear a spirit, as if she had been made for that dayes solemnity. Entertained all the way she went with the joyful shouts and acclamations of *God save the Queen*, which she repaid with such a modest affability, and so good a grace, that it drew tears of joy from the eyes of some, with infinite prayers and thanksgiving from the hearts of all; but nothing more endeared her to them, than the accepting of an English Bible richly gilt, which was let down unto her from one of the Pageants, by a child representing *Truth*. At the sight whereof she first kissed both her hands, with both her hands she received the book, which first she kiss'd and after laid unto her bosome, (as the nearest place unto her heart) giving the City greater thanks for that excellent Gift, than for all the rest, which plentifully had been that day bestowed upon her, and promised to be diligent in the reading of it. By which, and many other acts of a popular piety, with which she passed away that day, she did not only gain the hearts of all them that saw her, but they that saw her did so magnifie her most eminent Graces, that they procured the like affections in the hearts of all others also.

On the next morning with like magnificence and splendor, she is attended to the Church of *St Peter in Westminster*, where she was crowned according to the Order of the *Roman Pontifical*, by Dr *Owen Ogleshorp*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, the only man among all the Bishops, who could be wrought on by her to perform that office. Whether it were that they saw some alteration coming, to which they were resolved not to yield conformity, so that they could not be in a worse case upon this refusal, than they should be otherwise; or that they feared the Popes displeasure, if they should do an act so contrary unto his pretensions, without leave first granted; or that they had their own particular animosities and spleens against her, (as the Archbishop of *York* particularly for his being deprived of the seal) is not certainly known. None more condemned for the refusal, than the Bishop of *Ely*, as one that had received his first preferments from the King her father, and who complied so far in the time of King *Edward*, as to assist in the composing of the publick Liturgy, and otherwise appeared as forward in the reformation, as any other of that Order. So that no reason can be given either for his denial now to perform that service, or afterwards for his not complying with the Queens proceedings, but that he had been one of those which were sent to *Rome* to tender the submission of the Kingdom to the Pope still living, and could not now appear with honour in any such action, as seemed to carry with it a repugnancy (if not a manifest inconsistency) with the said ingagement. It cannot be denied but that there were three Bishops living of King *Edward's* making, all of them zealously affected to the reformation. And possibly it may seem strange that the Queen received not the Crown rather from one of their hands, than to put her self unto the hazard of so many denials as had been given her by the others. But unto this it may be answered, that the said Bishops at that time were deprived of their Sees. (but whether justly or unjustly, could not then be questioned) and therefore not in a capacity to perform that service. Besides, there being at that time no other form established for a Coronation, than that which had much in it of the Ceremonies and superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, she was not sure that any of the said three Bishops would have acted in it, without such alterations and omissions in the whole course of that Order, as might have render'd the whole action questionable amongst captious men, and therefore finally

finally she thought it more condicible to her reputation amongst torein Princes, to be Crowned by the hands of a Catholick Bishop (or one at least which was accounted to be such) than if it had been done by any of the other Religion.

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And now the Parliament draws on, summoned to begin on the 25th. of that month, being the Anniversary day of *St Paul's* conversion; a day which seemed to carry some good *Omen* in it, in reference to that great work of the Reformation which was therein to be established. The Parliament opened with an eloquent and learned Sermon preached by *Dr Cox*, a man of good credit with the Queen, and of no less esteem with the Lords and Commons, who carried any good affection to the memory of King *Edward the 6th*. The chusing of which man to perform that service, was able of it self to give some intimation of the Queens design to most of the Auditors; though to say truth, the Bishops refusing to perform the Ceremony of the Coronation had made themselves incapable of a further trust. Nor could the Queens design be so closely caryad, but that such Lords and Gentlemen as had the managing of elections in their several Countries, retained such men for Members of the House of Commons, as they conceived most likely to comply with their intentions for a Reformation. Amongst which none appeared more active than *Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk*, whom the Queen had taken into her Council; *Henry Fitz-allen Earl of Arundel*, whom she continued in the Office of Lord Steward, and *Sir William Cecil*, whom she had restored to the place of Secretary, to which he had been raised by King *Edward the 6th*. Besides, the Queen was young, unmarried, and like enough to entertain some thoughts of an husband; so that it can be no great marvel, not only if many of the Nobility, but some even of the Gentry also, flattered themselves with possibilities of being the man whom she might chuse to be her partner in the Regal Diadem. Which hopes much smoothed the way to the accomplishment of her desires, which otherwise might have proved more rugged and unpassable than it did at the present. Yet notwithstanding all their care, there wanted not some rough and furious spirits in the House of Commons, who eagerly opposed all propositions which seemed to tend unto the prejudice of the Church of *Rome*. Of which number none so violent as *Story Dr. of the Lawes*, and a great instrument of *Bonner's* butcheries in the former Reign. Who being questioned for the cruelty of his executions, appeared so far from being sensible of any error which he then committed, as to declare himself to be sorry for nothing more, than that instead of lopping off some few boughs and branches, he did not lay his axe to the root of the tree; and though it was not hard to guess at how high a mark the wretches malice seemed to aim, and what he meant by laying his axe to the root of the tree; yet passed he unpunished for the present, though divine vengeance brought him in conclusion to his just reward. Others there were, and doubtless many others also in the House of Commons, who had as great zeal as he to the Papal interests, but either had more modesty in the conduct of it, or preferred their duty and allegiance to their natural Prince, before their zeal to the concerns of the Church of *Rome*.

In this Parliament there passed an Act for recognizing the Queens just Title to the Crown; but without any Act for the validity of her mothers marriage, on which her Title most depended. For which neglect most men condemned the new Lord Keeper, on whose judgement she relied especially in point of Law; in whom it could not but be looked on as a great incogitancy, to be less careful of her own and her mothes honour, than the Ministers of the late Queen *Mary* had been of hers. But *Bacon* was not to be told of an old Law-Maxim, That the Crown takes away all defects and stops in blood, and that from the time that the Queen did assume the Crown, the fountain was cleared, and all ascenders and corruption of blood discharged. Which Maxim how unsafe soever it may seem to others, yet since it goes for a known rule amongst our Lawyers, could not be questioned at that present. And possible it is that he conceived

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ceived it better for the marriage of the Queens mother to pass unquestioned, as a matter justly subject unto no dispute, than to build the validity of it on no better ground than an Act of Parliament, which might be as easily reversed as it was agreed to. There pass an Act also for restoring to the Crown the tithes and first fruits, first settled thereon in the time of King Henry the 8th. and afterwards given back by Queen Mary as before was said. For the better drawing on of which concession, it was pretended, that the Patrimony of the Crown had been much dilapidated, and that it could not be supported with such honour as it ought to be, if restitution were not made of such rents and profits, as were of late dismembered from it. Upon which ground they also passed an act for the dissolution of all such Monasteries, Convents, and Religious Orders, as had been founded and established by the Queen deceased. By virtue of which Act the Queen was repossessed again of all those lands which had been granted by her sister to the Monks of *Westminster* and *Shene*, the Knights Hospitalers, the Nuns of *Sion*, together with the Mansion Houses re-edified for the Observants at *Greenwich*, and the Black Friars in *Smithfield*. Which last being planted in a house near the dissolved Priory of Great *St Bartholomews*, had again fitted and prepared the Church belonging thereunto for religious offices; but had scarce fitted and prepared it, when dissolved again, and the Church afterwards made a Parochial Church, for the use of the Close, and such as lived within the verge and precincts thereof. How she disposed of *Sion* House, hath been shewn already; and what she did with the rich Abby of *Westminster*, we shall see hereafter.

In the passing of these Acts there was little trouble, in the next there was. For when the Act of the *Supremacy* came to be debated, it seemed to be a thing abhorrent even in Nature and Polity, that a woman should be declared to be the supream Head on Earth of the Church of *England*. But those of the reformed party meant nothing less than to contend about words and phrases, so they might gain the point they aimed at, which was the stripping of the Pope of all authority within these Dominions, and fixing the supream power over all persons and estates of what rank soever in the Crown Imperial, not by the name of *Supream Head*, which they perceived might be made lyable to some just exceptions; but which comes all to one, of the *Supream Governesse*. Which when it gave occasion of discourse and descant amongst many of the capricious Papists, Queen Mary helped her sister unto one good Argument for her justification, and the Queen helped her self to another, which took off the cavil. In the third Session of Parliament in Queen Mary's time, there pass'd an Act, declaring, *That the Regal power was in the Queens Majesty, as fully as it had been in any of her predecessors*. In the body whereof it is expressed and declared, "That the Law of the Realm is, and ever hath been, and ought to be understood, that the Kingly or Regal Office of the Realm, and all Dignities, Prerogatives Royal, Power, Preheminences, Privileges, Authorities and Jurisdictions thereunto annexed, united, or belonging, being invested either in Male or Female, are, be, and ought to be, as fully, wholly, absolutely and intirely, deemed, adjudged, accepted, invested, and taken, in the one or in the other. So that whatsoever Statute or Law doth limit or appoint that the King of this Realm may, or shall have, execute and do, any thing as King, &c. the same the Queen, (being *Supream Governesse*, possessor and inheritor to the Imperial Crown of this Realm) may by the same power have and execute, to all intents, constructions and purposes, without doubt, ambiguity, scruple or question, any custome, use, or any other thing to the contrary notwithstanding. By the very tenor of which Act, Queen Mary grants unto her sister as much authority in all Church concerns, as had been exercised and enjoyed by her Father and Brother, according to any Act or Acts of Parliament in their several times. Which Acts of Parliament as our learned Lawyers have declared upon these occasions, were not to be considered as *Introductory* of a new power which was not in the Crown before, but

but only *Declaratory* of an old, which naturally belonged to all Christian Princes, and amongst others to the Kings and Queens of the Realm of England. *An. Reg. Eliz. I.*

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And to this purpose it is pleaded by the Queen in her own behalf. Some bulie and seditious persons had dispersed a rumour, that by the Act for recognizing of the Queens *Supremacy*, there was something further ascribed unto the Queen, her heirs and successors, a power of administering Divine Service in the Church, which neither by any equity or true sence of the words, could from thence be gathered; And thereupon she makes this Declaration unto all her subjects, "That nothing was or could be meant or intended by the said Act, than was acknowledged to be due to the most Noble King of famous memory, King Henry the 8th. her Majesties Father, or King Edward the 6th. her Majesties Brother. And further she declareth, That she neither doth, nor will challenge any other authority by the same, than was challenged and lately used by the said two Kings, and was of ancient time due unto the Imperial Crown of this Realm, that is, under God to have the Sovereignty and Rule over all persons born within her Realms or Dominions, of what estate (either Ecclesiastical or Temporal) soever they be, so as no other forein power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. Which explication published in the Queens Injunctions, Anno 1559. Not giving such a general satisfaction to that groundless cavil as was expected and intended, the Bishops and Clergy in their Convocation of the year 1562. by the Queens authority and consent, declared more plainly, that is to say, "That they gave not to their Princesses by vertue of the said Act or otherwise, either the ministering of Gods word or Sacraments, but that only Prerogative which they saw to have been given alwaies to all godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himself, that is to say, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword, the stubborn and evil doers.

By all which, if the cavils of the Adversary be not fully answered, it would be known upon what reason they should question that in a soverain Queen, which they allow in many cases to a Lady Abbess. For that an Abbess may be capable of all and all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, even to the denouncing of that dreadful sentence of Excommunication; and that they may lawfully exercise the same upon all such as live within the verge of their authority, is commonly acknowledged by their greatest Canonists. First for suspension, it is affirmed by their *Glosse*, that an Abbess may suspend such Clerks as are subject to her, both from their Benefice and Office. And questionless either to suspend a Clerk, or to bring his Church under the sentence of an Interdict, is one of the chief parts of Ecclesiastical or spiritual Censures. Nor have they this authority only by way of delegation from the Pope in some certain cases, as is affirmed by *Aquinas*, *Durandus*, *Sylvester*, *Dominicus Soto*, and many other of their Schoolmen, but in an ordinary way, as properly and personally invested them, which is the general opinion of their greatest Canonists. Next for the Sacraments, it is sufficiently known that the ministrations of Baptism is performed by Midwives, and many other women as of common course; nor only as a thing connived at in extreme necessity, but as a necessary duty, in which they are to be instructed against all emergencies by their Parish Priests: for which we have the testimony of the late Lord Legate, in the Articles published by him for his visitation. And finally for excommunication, it is affirmed by *Palladius* and *Navarre* (none of the meanest in the Pack) that the Pope may grant that power to a woman also; higher than which there can be none exercised in the Church by the sons of men. And if a Pope may grant these powers unto a woman, as to a Prioresse or Abbess, or to any other; there can be then no incapacity in the Sex, for exercising any part of that jurisdiction which was restored unto the Crown by this Act of Parliament.

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And if perhaps it be objected, that a Lady Abbess is an Ecclesiastical or spiritual person in regard of her office, which cannot be affirmed of Queens, Pope Gregory himself will come in to help us, by whom it was not thought unfit to commit the cognisance of a cause concerning the purgation of a Bishop, who stood charged with some grievous crime, to *Brunichildus* or *Brunhild* Queen of France; of which, although the Gloss upon the Decretals be pleased to say, "That the Pope stretched his power too far in this particular, yet Gregory did no more therein but what the Popes may do, and have done of late times by their own confession; so little ground there is for so great a clamour as hath been made by *Bellarmine* and other of the Popish Jesuites upon this occasion.

Now for the better exercising and enjoying of the jurisdiction thus recognised unto the Crown, there are two Clauses in the Act of great importance; the first whereof contains an Oath for the acknowledgment and defence of this *Supremacy*, not onely in the Queen, but her heirs and successors; the said Oath to be taken by all Archbishops, Bishops, and all other Ecclesiastical persons, and also by all temporal Judges, Justiciaries, Mayors, or any other temporal Officers, &c. For the refusal whereof when lawfully tendered to them by such as were thereto commissioned under the great Seal of *England*, every such person refusing, was actually to stand deprived of his or their Ecclesiastical Preferments, or other temporal office of what sort soever; onely it was provided, that the Oath should not be imposed on any of the temporal Peers, of whose fidelity the Queen seemed willing to assure herself without any such tie; though this exemption was esteemed by others but a piece of cunning, the better to facilitate the passing of that Act amongst them, which otherwise they might have hindered. But this provision was not made till the following Parliament, though for the reason before mentioned it was promised now. By the last Clause it was enacted, "That it should and might be lawful to the Queen, her heirs and Successors, by Letters Patents under the great Seal of *England*, to assigne, name, and authorise, when and as often as her Highness, her Heirs or Successors, should think convenient, such persons being natural born Subjects to them, to exercise, use, and occupie under her Highness, her Heirs and Successors, all manner of Jurisdictions, Privileges, and Preeminences, in any wise touching or concerning any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, within the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, or any other her Highness Dominions or Countries, and to visit, reform, repress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities whatsoever, which by any manner of Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction, or can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained or amended, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of vertue, and conservation of the peace and unity of this Realm. With a Proviso notwithstanding, that nothing should from thenceforth be accounted for Heresie, but what was so adjudged in the holy Scripture, or in one of the four first General Councils, or in any other National or Provincial Council, determining according to the word of God; or finally which should be so adjudged in the time to come by the Court of Parliament, first having the assent of the Bishops and Clergy in their Convocation. This was the first foundation of that famous Court of *High Commission*, the principal Bulwark and Preservative of the Church of *England*, against the practices and assaults of all her Adversaries, whether Popish or Puritan. And from hence issued that Commission, by which the Queens Ministers proceeded in their Visitation in the first year of her Reign, for rectifying all such things as they found amiss, and could not be redressed by any ordinary Episcopal power, without the spending of more time than the exigencies of the Church could then admit of.

There also past another Act for recommending and imposing the Book of Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, according to such alterations and corrections as were madetherein by those who were appointed

ed to revile it, as before is said. In the performance of which service, there was great care taken for expunging all such passages in it, as might give any scandal or offence to the Popish party, or be urged by them in excuse for their not comming to Church, and joyning with the rest of the Congregation in Gods publick Worship. In the Letany first made and published by King Henry the 8th. and afterwards continued in the two Liturgies of King Edward the 6th. there was a Prayer to be delivered from the tyranny and all the detestable enormities of the Bishop of Rome; which was thought fit to be expunged, as giving matter of scandal and dis-affection to all that party, or otherwise wisht well to that Religion. In the first Liturgie of King Edward, the Sacrament of the Lords Body was delivered with this Benediction, that is to say, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for the preservation of thy body and soul to life everlasting; The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.* Which being thought by Calvin and his Disciples to give some countenance to the grosse and carnal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which passeth by the name of *Transubstantiation* in the Schools of Rome, was altered into this form in the second Liturgy, that is to say, *Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving. Take and drink this, &c.* But the Revivers of the Book joynd both Forms together, lest under colour of rejecting a Carnal, they might be thought also to deny such a Real Presence as was defended in the Writings of the Ancient Fathers. Upon which ground they expunged also a whole Rubrick at the end of the Communion-service, by which it was declared, that kneeling at the participation of the Sacrament was required for no other reason, than for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ, given therein unto the worthy Receiver, and to avoid that prophane-ation and disorder which otherwise might have ensued, and not for giving any adoration to the Sacramental Bread and Wine there bodily received, or in regard of any real and essential presence of Christs body and blood. And to come up the closer to those of the Church of Rome, it was ordered by the Queens Injunctions, that the Sacramental Bread (which the Book required onely to be made of the finest flower) should be made round in fashion of the Wafers used in the time of Queen Mary. She also ordered, that the Lords Table should be placed where the Altar stood, that the accustomed reverence should be made at the name of Jesus, Musick retained in the Church, and all the old Festivals observed with their several Eves. By which compliances, and the expunging of the passages before remembred, the Book was made so passable amongst the Papists, that for ten years they generally repaired to their Parish Churches, without doubt or scruple, as is affirmed not onely by Sir Edward Coke, in his speech against *Garnet*, and his Charge given at the Assizes held at *Normich*, but also by the Queen her self in a Letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, then being her Resident or Leiger-Ambassador in the Court of France; the same confessed by Sanders also in his Book *de Schismate*.

And that the Book might passe the better in both Houses when it came to the Vote, it was thought requisite that a Disputation should be held about some points, which were most likely to be checked at; the Disputants to be five Bishops and four other learned men of the one side, and nine of the most learned men, graduated in the Schools, on the other side; the Disputation to begin on the 30th. of March, and to be holden in the Church of *Westminster*, in the presence of as many of the Lords of the Council, and of the Members of both Houses, as were desirous to inform themselves in the state of the Questions. The Disputation for that reason to be held in the English Tongue, and to be managed (for the better avoiding of confusion) by a mutual interchange of writings upon every point, those writings which were mutually given in upon one day, to be reciprocally answer'd on another, & so from day to day till the whole were ended. To all which points the Bishops gave consent for themselves, and the rest of their party, though they refused to

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stand unto them when it came to the tryal. The points to be disputed on were three in number, that is to say, *1. That it is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the people in Common-Praier, and in the administration of the Sacraments.* 2. *That every Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies and Ecclesiastical Rues, so the same be to edification.* 3. *That it cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is in the Masse offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the living and the dead.* And for the Disputants of each side, they were these that follow, that is to say, first, for the Popish party, Dr. *White* Bishop of Winchester, Dr. *Bayn* Bishop of Lichfield, Dr. *Scot* Bishop of Chester, and Dr. *Watson* Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. *Fecknam* Abbot of Westminster, Dr. *Henry Cole* Dean of St. Pauls, Dr. *Harpisfield* Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. *Chadsey* Prebend of St. Pauls, and Dr. *Langdale* Archdeacon of Lewis in Suffex. For those of the Protestant persuasion appeared Dr. *Scory* the late Bishop of Chichester, Dr. *Cox* the late Dean of Westminster, Dr. *Sandys* late Master of Katherine Hall, Mr. *Horn* the late Dean of Durham, Mr. *Elmar* late Archdeacon of Stow, Mr. *Whitehead*, Mr. *Gryndal*, Mr. *Gwest*, and Mr. *Jewel*; all of which, except onely *Whitehead*, attained afterwards to some eminent place in the sacred Hierarchy.

The day being come, and the place fitted and accommodated for so great an audience, the Lord Keeper *Bacon* takes the Chair as Moderator, not for determining any thing in the points disputed, but for seeing good order to be kept, and that the Disputation might be managed in the form agreed on. When contrary to expectation, the Bishops and their party brought nothing in writing to be read publicly in the hearing of all the Auditors, but came resolved to try it out by word of mouth, and to that end appointed *Cole* to be their Spokesman. For which neglect, being reproved by the Lord Keeper, they promised a conformity on the Monday following, being the second day of April; but would not stand unto it then, because they would not give their Adversaries so much leisure as a whole nights deliberation to return an answer. Desired and pressed by the Lord Keeper to proceed according to the form agreed on, for the better satisfaction and contentment of so great an Audience, it was most obstinately denied: *Watson* and *White* behaving themselves with so little reverence (or so much insolency rather) as to threaten the Queen with Excommunication in that publick Audience, for which they were committed to the Tower on the fifth of April. The rest of the Bishops were commanded to abide in London, and to give bond for their appearance at the Council-Table whensoever they should be required. And so the whole Assembly was dismissed, and the conference ended before it had been well begun, the Lord Keeper giving to the Bishops this sharp remembrance, *Since (said he) you are not willing that we should hear you, you shall very shortly hear from us.* Which notwithstanding produced this good effect in the Lords and Commons, that they conceived the Bishops were not able to defend their Doctrin in the points disputed; which made the way more easie for the passing of the publick Liturgy, when it was brought unto the Vote. Two Speeches there were made against it in the House of Peers, by *Scot* and *Fecknam*, and one against the Queens Supremacy by the Archbishop of York; but they prevailed as little in both points by the power of their Eloquence, as they had done in the first by their want of Arguments.

It gave much matter of discourse to most knowing men, that the Bishops should so wilfully fall from an appointment to which they had before agreed, and thereby forfeit their whole Cause to a Condemnation. But they pretended for themselves, that they were so straightened in point of time, that they could not possibly digest their Arguments into form and order; that they looked upon it as a thing too much below them to humble themselves to such a Conference or Disputation, in which *Bacon*, a meer lay-man, and of no great learning, was to sit as Judge; and finally, that the points had been determined already by the Catholick Church, and therefore were not to be called in question

tion without leave from the Pope. Which last pretence, if it were of any weigh and moment, it must be utterly impossible to proceed to any Reformation in the state of the Church, by which the power and pride of the Popes of Rome may be any thing lessened, or that the corruptions of the Church should be redressed, if it consist not with their profit. For want of time they were no more straitened than the opposite party, none of them knowing with what arguments the other side would fortify and confirm their cause; nor in what forms they would propose them, before they had perused their reciprocal Papers. But nothing was more weakly urged, than their exception against the Presidency of Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, which could not be considered as a matter either new or strange; not strange, because the like Presidency had been given frequently to *Cromwel*, in the late Reign of King *Henry* the 8th. and that not only in such general Conferences, but in several Convocations and Synodical meetings. Not new, because the like had been frequently practised by the most godly Kings and Emperors of the Primitive times; for in the Council of *Chalcedon* the Emperor appointed certain Noblemen to sit as Judges, whose names occur in the first Action of that Council. The like we find exemplified in the *Ephesine* Council, in which, by the appointment of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, then Roman Emperors, *Candidianus*, a Count Imperial, sat as Judge or President, who in the managing of that trait over-acted any thing which was done by *Cromwel* as Vicar-General to that King, or *Bacon* was empowered to do as the Queens Commissioner. No such unreasonable condescension to be found in this, as was pretended by the Bishops and the rest of that party, to save themselves from the guilt and censure of a Tergiversation; for which, and other their contempts, we shall find them called to a reckoning within few months after.

In the Convocation which accompanied the present Parliament, there was little done, and that little which they did was to little purpose. Held under *Bonner*, in regard of the Vacancy of the See of *Canterbury*, it began without the ordinary preamble of a Latine Sermon, all preaching being then prohibited by the Queens command. The Clergy for their Prolocutor made choice of Doctor *Nicholas Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, a man of more ability (as his works declare) than he had any opportunity to make use of in the present service. The Act of the submission of the Clergy to King *Henry* the 8th. and his Successors Kings of *England*, had been repealed in the first year of Queen *Mary*, so that the Clergy might have acted of their own authority, without any license from the Queen; and it is much to be admired that *Bonner*, *White*, or *Watson* did not put them to it; but such was either their fear, or modesty, or a despair of doing any good to themselves and the cause, that there was nothing done by the Bishops at all, and not much more by the lower Clergy, than a declaration of their judgment in some certain points, which at that time were conceived fit to be commended to the sight of the Parliament, that is to say, "1. That in the Sacrament of the Altar, by vertue of Christs assiting, after the word is duly pronounced by the Priest, the natural body of Christ conceived of the Virgin *Mary* is really present under the species of Bread and Wine, as also his natural Blood. 2. That after the Consecration there remains not the substance of Bread and Wine, nor any substance, save the substance of God and Man. 3. That the true body of Christ and his Blood is offered for a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. 4. That the supreme power of feeding and governing the militant Church of Christ, and of confirming their brethren, is given to *Peter* the Apostle, and to his lawful Successors in the See Apostolick, as unto the Vicars of Christ. 5. That the authority to handle and define such things which belong to Faith, the Sacraments, and Discipline Ecclesiastical, hath hitherto ever belonged, and onely ought to belong unto the Pastors of the Church, whom the holy Spirit hath placed in the Church, and not unto Lay-men. These Articles, they caused to be engrossed, & so commended them to the care and

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and consideration of the Higher House. By *Bonner* afterwards, that is to say on the 3d. of *March*, presented to the hands of the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, by whom they were candidly received. But they prevailed no further with the Queen or the House of Peers, when imparted to them, but that possibly they might help forwards the disparation, which not long after was appointed to be held at *Westminster*, as before was said.

It was upon the 8th. of *May* that the Parliament ended, and on the 24th. of *June*, that the publick Liturgy was to be officiated in all the Churches of the Kingdom. In the performance of which service, the Bishops giving no encouragement, and many of the Clergy being backward in it, it was thought fit to put them to the final test, and either to bring them to conformity, or to bestow their places and preferments on more tractable persons. The Bishops at that time had been reduced into a narrower number than at any other time before. The Sees of *Salisbury* and *Oxon* had been made vacant in the year 1557. by the death of *Capon* in the one, and of *King* in the other, neither of which Churches had since been filled, and that of *Oxon* not in ten years after. *Pacefew* of *Hereford*, *Holyman* of *Bristol*, and *Glyn* of *Bangor*, died some few weeks before the Queen, Cardinal *Pole* of *Canterbury* on the same day with her. *Hopion* of *Norwich*, and *Brooks* of *Glocester*, within few weeks after. *Gryffia* of *Rocheſter* departed this life about the beginning of the Parliament, about which time also *Paies* of *Worceſter* forsook the Kingdom, and was followed by *Guldwel* of *St Asaph* in the end of *May*; so that there were no more than fifteen living of that sacred Order. And they being called in the beginning of *July* by certain of the Lords of the Council, commissioned thereunto in due form of Law, were then and there required to take the oath of Supremacy, according to the law made in that behalf. *Kitchin* of *Landoff* only takes it, who having formerly submitted unto every change, resolved to shew himself no *Changling* in not conforming to the pleasure of the Higher Powers. By all the rest it was refused, that is to say, by *Dr Heath* Archbishop of *York*, *Bonner* of *London*, *Tonſtall* of *Durham*, *White* of *Wincheſter*, *Thirlby* of *Ely*, *Waiſon* of *Lincoln*, *Pool* of *Peterborough*, *Chriſtopherſon* of *Chicheſter*, *Bourn* of *Wells*, *Turbervile* of *Exeter*, *Morgan* of *St Davids*, *Bain* of *Lichfield*, *Scot* of *Cheſter*, and *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*. And yet these men (which makes it seem the greater wonder) had either taken the like oath as Priests or Bishops in some part or other of the Reign of the two last Kings.

But now they had hardened one another to a resolution of standing out unto the last, and were thereupon deprived of their several Bishopricks, as the Law required. A punishment which came not on them all at once, some of them being borne withall (in hope of their conformity and submission) till the end of *September*. And when it came, it came accompanied with so much mercy, that they had no reason to complain of the like extremity as they had put upon their brethren in the late Queens time. So well were they disposed of and accommodated with all things necessary, that they lived more at ease, and in as prosperous a condition, as when they were possessed of their former dignities. Archbishop *Heath* was suffered to abide in one of his own purchased houses, never restrained to any place, and died in great favour with the Queen, who bestowed many gracious visits on him during this retirement. *Tonſtall* of *Durham* spent the remainder of his time with Archbishop *Parker*, by whom he was kindly entertained, and honourably buried. The like civility afforded also in the same house to *Thirlby* of *Ely*, and unto *Bourn* of *Wells* by the Dean of *Exon*, in which two houses they both dyed about ten years after. *White* though at first imprisoned for his haurs and insolencies, after some cooling of himself in the Tower of *London*, was suffered to enjoy his liberty, and to retire himself to what friend he pleased. Which favour was vouchsafed unto *Turbervile* also, who being by birth a Gentleman of an ancient Family, could not want friends to give him honest entertainment. *Waiſon* of *Lincoln* having endured a short restraint, spent the remainder of his time with the Bishops of
Rochester

Rocheſter and Ely, till being found practiſing againſt the State, he was finally ſhut up in *Wiſſiſch* Cattle, where at laſt he died. *Oglethorp* died ſoon after his deprivation, of an *Apoplexy*, *Bayne* of the Stone, and *Morgan* of ſome other diſeaſe in *December* following; but all of them in their beds, and in perfect liberty. *Poole* by the clemency of the Queen, enjoyed the like freedom, courteouſly treated by all perſons amongſt whom he lived, and at laſt died upon one of his own Farms in a good old age. And as for *Chriſtopherſon*, he had been in his time ſo good a Benefactor to *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, whereof he had been ſometimes Maſter, that he could not want ſome honeſt and ingenuous retribution, if the neceſſity of his eſtate had required the ſame. *Bonner* alone was doomed to a conſtant imprifonment, which was done rather out of care for his preſervation, than as a puniſhment of his crimes; the priſon proving to that wretch his ſafeſt ſanctuary, whoſe horrid tyrannies had otherwiſe expoſed him to the popular fury. So loud alie is that of *Genebrard*, (though a good Chronologer) that the Biſhops were not only puniſhed with imprifonment and the loſs of their livelihoods, but that many of them were deſtroyed by poiſon, famine, and many other kinds of death.

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The Biſhops being thus put to it, the Oath is tendered next to the Deans and Dignitaries, and by degrees alſo to the Rural Clergy; reſuſed by ſome, and took by others, as it ſeemed moſt agreeable to their conſciences, or particular ends. For the reſuſal whereof, or otherwiſe for not conforming to the publick Liturgy, I find no more to have been deprived of their preferments, than fourteen Biſhops, ſix Abbots Priors, and Governours of Religious Orders, twelve Deans, and as many Arch Deacons, fifteen Preſidents or Maſters of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries of Cathedral Churches, and about eighty Parſons or Vicars. The whole number not amounting to 200 men, which in a Realm conſiſting of nine thouſand Pariſhes, and 26 Cathedral Churches, could be no great matter. But then we are to know withall, that many who were cordially affected to the intereſs of the Church of *Rome*, diſpenſed with themſelves in theſe outward conformities, which ſome of them are ſaid to do upon a hope of ſeeing the like revolution by the death of the Queen, as had before hapned by the death of King *Edward*; and otherwiſe that they might be able to relieve their brethren, who could not ſo readily frame themſelves to a preſent compliance. Which notwithstanding ſo it was, that partly by the deprivation of theſe few perſons, but principally by the death of ſo many in the laſt years ſickneſs, there was not a ſufficient number of learned men to ſupply the cures, which filled the Church with an ignorant and illiterate Clergy, whoſe learning went no further than the Liturgy, or the Book of Homilies, but otherwiſe conformable (which was no ſmall felicity) to the Rules of the Church. And on the other ſide, many were raiſed to great preferments, who, having ſpent there time of exile in ſuch forein Churches as followed the platform of *Geneva*, returned ſo diſaffected to Episcopall Government, unto the Rites and Ceremonies here by law eſtabliſhed, as not long after filled the Church with moſt ſad diſorders; not only to the breaking of the bond of peace, but to the grieving and extinguishing of the ſpirit of Unity. Private opinions not regarded, nothing was more conſidered in them, than their zeal againſt Popery, and their abilities in learning to confirm that zeal. On which account we find the Queens Profeſſor in *Oxford* to paſs amongſt the *Non-Conformiſts*, though ſomewhat more moderate than the reſt; and *Cartwright* the Lady *Margarets* in *Cambridge*, to prove an unextinguished firebrand to the Church of *England*; *Whittington* the chief Ringleader of the *Franckfort* Schiſmaticks, preferred unto the Deanry of *Durham*, from thence encouraging *Knox* and *Goodman*, in ſetting up Preſbytery and Sedition in the Kirk of *Scotland*; *Sampton* advanced unto the Deanry of *Chriſt-Church*, and within few years after, turned out again for an incorrigible *Non-Conformiſt*; *Hardinian* one of the firſt twelve Prebends of the Church of *Weſtmiſter*, deprived ſoon after for throwing down the Altar, and deſacing the veſtments of the Church.

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Which things I only touch at now, leaving the further prosecution of them to another place.

Of all these traverses, the Pope received advertisement from the first to the last. But being of a rugged humour, he fell most infinitely short of that dexterity which the case required, for finding out a fit expedient to prevent the rupture. When his first sullen fits had left him, he began to treat more seriously with the English Agent; not that the Queen should sue unto him for the Crown, which she was possessed of, but that no alteration of Religion might be driven at by her. To which *Karn* answered according to such instructions as he had received, That he could give him no assurance in that point, unless the Pope would first declare, that the marriage of King *Henry* with Queen *Anne Bollen*, had been good and lawful. Which cross request so stumbled both the Pope and the Conclave, that they made choise rather of doing nothing, than to do that, of which they could not promise to themselves any fortunate issue. Roused at the last by the continual alarms which came from *England*, he entertains some secret practices with the *French*, and on the sudden signifies his commands to *Karn*, that he should not depart out of *Rome* without his leave, and that in the mean time he should take upon him the government of the English Hospital in the City. In which command each of them is affirmed to have had his own proper ends: For *Karn* affected that restraint, which he was thought to have procured under hand, because he had no mind to return into *England*, where he was like to find a different Religion from that which he embraced in his own particular. And the Pope had his own ends also, in hindering as he thought the discovering of that secret intelligence which he maintained with the *French* King, to the Queens destruction, if his designs had took effect. But his design was carried with so little cunning, that presently it discovered it self, without the help of a revelation from the English Agent. For whether it were by his instigation, or by the solicitation of the *French* King, or the ambition of the *Daulphin*, who had then married the Queen of *Scots*, (as before was said) the Queen of *Scots* assumes unto her self the stile and title of Queen of *England*, quartereth the Arms thereof upon all her Plate, and in all Armories and Escutcheons, as she had occasion. And this she did as Cosen and next heir to the Queen deceased; which could not be without impugning bastardy to the Queen then living. A folly which occasioned such displeasure in the heart of *Elizabeth*, that it could neither be forgotten, nor so much as forgiven, till that unfortunate Lady was driven out of her Kingdom, hunted into a close imprisonment, and finally brought out to the fatal block.

This as it somewhat startled the new Queen of *England*, so it engaged her the more resolutely in that Reformation which was so happily begun. And to that end she fers out by Advice of her Council, a certain Body of Injunctions, the same in purpose and effect, with those which had been published in the first of King *Edward*, but more accommodated to the temper of the present time. Nothing more singular in the same, than the severe course taken about Ministers Mariages, the use of singing, and the Reverences in Divine Worship to be kept in Church, the posture of the Communion Table, and the form of bidding Prayers in the Congregation. This last almost the same *verbatim* with that which is prescribed *Can. 55. Anno 1603.* and therefore not so necessary to be here repeated. The first worne long since out of use, and not much observed neither when it first came out, as if it had been published in the way of caution, to make the Clergy men more wary in the choice of their wives, than with a purpose of pursuing it to an execution. But as for that concerning the use of singing, and the accustomed Reverences to be kept in Churches, they are these that follow. Touching the last it is enjoined, "That whensoever the name of *Jesus* should be in any Lesson, Sermon, or otherwise in the Church pronounced, that due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowliness of countenance, and uncovering of the heads of the men
"kind

"kind, as thereunto did necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed. For the encouragement of the Art, and the continuance of the use of Singing in the Church of *England*, it was thus enjoined, that is to say, That because in divers Collegiat, as also in some Parish Churches, heretofore, there hath been Livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children for singing in the Church, by means whereof, the laudable exercise of Musick hath been had in estimation, and preserved in knowledge; The Queens Majesty neither meaning in any wise the decay of any thing, that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said Science, neither to have the same so abused in any part of the Church, that thereby the Common-Prayer should be the worse understood by the Hearers, willeth and commandeth, that first no alterations be made of such assignments of Living as heretofore hath been appointed to the use of Singing or Musick in the Church, but that the same so remain. And that there be a modest and distinct Song so used in all parts of the Common-Prayers in the Church, that the same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing; And yet nevertheless, for the comforting of such as delight in Musick, it may be permitted, that in the beginning or in the end of common-Prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an Hymn or such like Song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best Melody and Musick that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the Hymn may be understood and perceived. According to which order, as Plain-song was retained in most Parish-Churches for the daily Psalms, so in her own Chapels, and in the Quire of all Cathedrals, and some Colleges, the Hymns were sung after a more melodious manner, with Organs commonly, and sometimes with other musical Instruments, as the solemnity required. No mention here of singing *David's* Psalms in Meeter, though afterwards they first thrust out the Hymns which are herein mentioned, and by degrees also did they the *Te Deum*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc dimittis*.

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Concerning the *Position* of the holy Table it was ordered thus, viz. "That no Altar should be taken down, but by oversight of the Curat of the Church, or the Church-wardens, or one of them at the least, wherein no riotous or disordered manner was to be used; and that the holy Table in every Church be decently made, and set in the place where the Altar stood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongerth, and as should be appointed by the Visitors, and so to stand, saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be administered; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the Quire or Chancel, as whereby the Minister may be more conveniently heard of the Communicants in his Prayer and Ministration, and the Communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said Minister. And after the Communion done, from time to time the said holy Table to be placed where it stood before. Which permission of removing the Table at Communion-times is not so to be understood, (as the most excellent King *Charles* declared in the case of *St. Gregory's*) as if it were ever left to the discretion of the Parish, much less to the particular fancy of any humorous person; but to the judgment of the Ordinary, to whose place and function it doth properly belong to give direction in that point, both for the thing it self, or for the time, when, and how long, as he may find cause.

By these *Injunctions* she made way to her Visitation, executed by Commissioners in their several Circuits, and regulated by a Book of Articles printed and published for that purpose. Proceeding by which Articles, the Commissioners removed all carved Images out of the Church, which had been formerly abused to superstition, defacing also all such Pictures, Paintings, and other monuments, as served for the setting forth of feigned Miracles; and this they did without any tumult and disorder, and without laying any sacrilegious and ravenous hands on any of the Churches Plate, or other Utensils which

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had been repaired and re-provided in the late Queens time. They enquired also into the life and doctrine of Ministers, their diligence in attending their several Cures, the decency of their apparel, the respect of the Parishioners towards them, the reverent behaviour of all manner of persons in Gods public worship. Inquiry was also made into all sorts of crimes, haunting of Taverns by the Clergy; Adultery, Fornication, Drunkenness, amongst those of the Laity, with many other things since practised in the Visitations of particular Bishops; by means whereof, the Church was settled and confirmed in so good an order, that the work was made more easie to the Bishops when they came to govern, than otherwise it could have been. But more particularly in *London* (which for the most part gives example to the rest of the Kingdom) the Visitors were Sir *Richard Sackville*, (father to *Thomas Earl of Dorset*) Mr. *Robert Horn* after Bishop of *Winchester*, Dr. *Huick* a Civilian, and one *Salvage* possibly a Common Lawyer; who calling before them divers persons of every Parish, gave them an Oath to enquire and present upon such Articles and Injunctions as were given unto them. In perfuance whereof, both the Commissioners and the People shewed so much forwardness, that on *St. Bartholomews* day and the morrow after, they burned in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, *Cheap-side*, and other places of the City, all the Roods and other Images which had been taken out of the Churches. And as it is many times supposed that a thing is never well done if not over-done, so hapned it in this case also, zeal against superstition had prevailed so far with some ignorant men, that in some places the Coaps, Vestments, Altar-cloaths, Books, Banners, Sepulchres, and Rood-lofts, were burned altogether.

All matters of the Church being thus disposed of, it will be time to cast our eyes on the concerns of the civil State which occurred this year, in which I find nothing more considerable than the overtures of some Marriages which had been made unto the Queen. *Philip of Spain* had made an offer of himself by the Count of *Feris* his Ambassadour; but the Queen had heard so much of the disturbances which befell King *Henry*, by marrying with his brothers wife, that she had no desire to run into the like perplexities by marrying with her sisters husband; and how he was discouraged from proceeding in it, hath been shewed already. Towards the end of the Parliament the Lords and Commons made an humble Adresse unto her, in which they most earnestly besought her, That for securing the peace of the Kingdom, and the contentation of all her good and loving subjects, she would think of marrying; not pointing her particularly unto any one man, but leaving her to please herself in the choice of the person. To which she answered, That she thanked them for their good affections, and took their application to her to be well intended, the rather, because it contained no limitation of place or person; which had they done, she must have disliked it very much, and thought it to have been a great presumption. But for the matter of their sure, she lets them know, That she had long since made choice of that state of life in which now she lived, and hoped that God would give her strength and constancy to go throw with it; that if she had been minded to have changed that course, she neither wanted many invitations to it in the reign of her brother, nor many strong impulsions in the time of her sister. That as she had hitherto remained, so she intended to continue by the grace of God, though her Words, compared with her Youth, might be thought by some to be far different from her meaning. And so having thanked them over again, she licensed them to depart to their several businesses. And it appeared soon after that she was in earnest, by her rejecting of a motion made by *Gustavus* King of *Sweden* for the Prince *Ericus*; for the solliciting whereof, his second son *John Duke of Finland* (who succeeded his Brother in that Kingdom) is sent Ambassador into *England* about the end of *September*; Received at *Harwich* in *Essex* by the Earl of *Oxford* and the Lord *Robert Dudley*, with a goodly train of Gentlemen and Yeoman, he was by them conducted honourably towards *London*, where he was met by the

Lords

Lords and Gentlemen of the Court, attended through the City on the 5th. of October to the Bishop of Winchester's house in Southwark; there he remained with his Train, consisting of about fifty persons, till the 8th. following; magnificently feasted by the Queen, but otherwise no farther gratified in the business which he came about than all the rest, who both before and after tried their fortunes in it.

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The next great business of this year was a renewing of the Peace with the Crown of France, agreed on at the Treaty near the City of Cambray, in which all differences were concluded also between France and Spain, all other Articles being accorded, the restitution of Calais to the Queen of England seemed the only obstacle, by which the general peace of Christendom was at the point to have been hindered. But the Queen, either preferring the publick good before private interest, or fearing to be left alone if she should stand too obstinately upon that particular, came at the last to this agreement, viz. That Calais should remain for the term of eight years then next following in the hands of the French, that at the end of the said term it should be delivered unto the English, or otherwise the French King should pay unto the Queen the sum of 500000 Crowns. According unto which Agreement, Peace was proclaimed in London on the 7th. of April between the Queen's Majesty on the one part, and the French King on the other; as also between her and the King Dolphin, with his wife the Queen of Scots, and all the Subjects and Dominions of the said four Princes; The Proclamation published by Garter and Norrey Kings at Arms, accompanied with three other Heralds and five Trumpeters, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their Scarlet Gowns being present on horseback. But long the French King lived not to enjoy the benefit of this general Peace, unfortunately wounded in Paris at a Tilt or Tournament by Count Montgomery, of which wound he shortly after died on the 10th. of July, leaving behind him four sons, Francis, Charles, Henry, and another Francis, of which the three first, according to their seniority, enjoyed that Kingdom. And though he had just cause to be offended with the young King Francis, for causing the Queen of Scots his wife to take upon her self the Title and Arms of England, yet she resolved to bestow a royal Obsequy on the King deceased, which was performed in St. Paul's Church on the 8th. and 9th. of September in most solemn manner, with a rich Hearse made like an Imperial Crown, sustained with eight pillars, and covered with black Velvet, with a Valence fringed with gold, and richly banded with Scutcheons, Pennons, and Banners of the French Kings Arms; the principal mourner for the first day was the Lord Treasurer Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, assisted with ten other Lords Mourners, with all the Heralds in black, and their Coat-Armours uppermost. The divine Offices performed by Doctor Maubew Parker Lord elect of Canterbury, Doctor William Barlow Lord elect of Chichester, and Doctor John Scory Lord elect of Hereford, all sitting in the Throne of the Bishop of London, no otherwise at that time than in hoods and Surplices; by whom the *Deiuge* was executed at that time in the English tongue: The Funeral Sermon preached the next morning by the Lord of Hereford, and a Communion celebrated by the Bishops then attired in Copes upon their Surplices. At which time six of the chief mourners received the Sacrament, and so departed with the rest to the Bishops Palace, where a very liberal Entertainment was provided for them. By which magnificency and the like, this prudent Queen not only kept her own reputation at the highest amongst foreign Princes, but caused the greater estimation to be had by the Catholick party of the Religion here established.

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WE must begin this year with the Consecration of such new Bishops, as were elected to succeed in the place of those which had been deprived, the first of which was that of the most reverend Doctor *Matthew Parker* elected to the See of *Canterbury* on the first of *August*, but not consecrated till the 17th. of *December* following. That Dignity had first been offered, as is said by some, to *Doctor Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *Tork*, who grown in years, and still a well-willer to the Pope, desired to be excused from undertaking of a charge so weighty. And some say it was offered unto *Whitchhead* also, who had been Chaplain to *Anne Bollen* the Queen's mother; but he returned the like refusal, though on other grounds, as more inclined (by reason of his long abode in *Calvin's* Churches) to the Presbyterians than the Episcopal form of Government; and it was happy, for the Church might have been betrayed by his disaffection, that he did refuse it. The Chair being better filled by *Parker* another of Queen *Anne Bollen's* Chaplains, but better principled, and of a far more solid judgment in affairs of moment. The *Congé d'escieur*, which opened him the way to this eminent Dignity, bears date on the 18th. day of *July*, within few days after the deprivation of the former Bishops, to satisfy the world in the Queens intention of preserving the Episcopal Government. And therefore why the consecration was deferred so long may be made a question; some think it was, that she might satisfy her self, by putting the Church into a posture by her Visitation, before she passed it over to the care of the Bishops; others conceive, that she was so enamoured with the power and title of Supreme Governess, that she could not deny her self that contentment in the exercise of it which the present Interval afforded; For what are Titles without Power? and what pleasure can be took in Power if no use be made of it?

And it is possible enough that both or either of these considerations might have some influence upon her. But the main cause for keeping the Episcopal Sees in so long a vacancy must be found else-where. An Act had passed in the late Parliament, which never had the confidence to appear in print, in the Preamble whereof it was declared, That by dissolution of Religious Houses in the time of the late King her Majesties father, many Improprations, Tithes, and portions of Tithes had been invested in the Crown, which the Queen, being a Lady of a tender conscience, thought not fit to hold, nor could conveniently dismember from it without compensation, in regard of the present low condition in which she found the Crown at her coming to it; And thereupon it was enacted, that in the vacancy of any Archbishoprick or Bishoprick, it should be lawful for the Queen to issue out a Commission under the Great Seal, for taking a survey of all Castles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, and all other Hereditaments to the said Episcopal Sees belonging or appertaining; and on the return of such surveys, to take into her hands any of the said Castles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, &c. as to her seemed good; giving to the said Archbishops or Bishops as much annual Rents, to be raised upon Improprations, Tithes, and portions of Tithes, as the said Castles, Mannors, Lands, &c. did amount unto. The Church Lands certified according to the ancient Rents, without consideration of the *Casualties* and other *Perquisites* of Court which belonged unto them; the Retribution made in Penfions, Tithes, and portions of Tithes, extended at the utmost value, from which no other profit was to be expected than the Rent it self. Which Act not being to take effect till the end of that Parliament, the interval between the end of the Parliament, the deprivation of the old Bishops, and the consecration of the new, was to be taken up in the executing of such surveys, and making such advantages of them, as most redounded to the profit of the Queen and her Court.

Courtiers. Upon which ground, as all the Bishops Sees were so long kept vacant before any one of them was filled, so in the following times they were kept void one after another as occasion served, till the best Flowers in the whole Garden of the Church had been culled out of it. There was another Clause in the said Statutes, by which the patrimony of the Church was as much dilapidated, *sede plena*, as it was pulled by this in the times of vacancy; for by that Clause, all Bishops were retrained from making any Grants of their Farms and Mannors for more than twenty one years, or three lives at the most, except it were unto the Queen, her Heirs and Successors. But either to the Queen, or to any of her Heirs and Successors (and under that pretence to any her hungry Courtiers) they might be granted in Fee farm, or for a Lease of fourscore and nineteen years, as it pleased the Parties. By which means, *Credinton* was dismembered from the See of *Exon*, the goodly mannor of *Sherborn* from that of *Salisbury*, many fair mannors alienated for ever from the rich Sees of *Worcester*, *Elie*, and indeed what not?

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But to proceed unto the Consecration of the new Archbishop, the first thing to be done after the passing of the Royal Assent for ratifying of the election of the Dean and Chapter, (was the confirming of it) in the Court of the Arches, according to the usual form in that behalf; Which being accordingly performed, the Vicar General, the Dean of the Arches, the Proctors and Officers of the Court, whose presence was required at this Solemnity, were entertained at a dinner provided for them at the *Nags head Tavern* in *Cheapside*; for which, though *Parker* paid the shot, yet shall the Church be called to an after-reckoning. Nothing remains to expedite the Consecration but the Royal Mandat, which I find dated on the sixth of *December*, directed to *Anthony Knebing* Bishop of *Landaff*, *William Barlow* late Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Lord Elect of *Chichester*; *John Scory* late Bishop of *Chichester*, Lord Elect of *Hereford*, *Miles Coverdale* late Bishop of *Exeter*, *John Hodgkins* Suffragan of *Bedford*, *John Suffragan* of *Thetford*, and *John Bale* Bishop of *Offerte* in the Realm of *Ireland*, requiring them, or any of them at the least, to proceed unto the consecration of the right reverend *Matthew Parker* lately elected to the Metropolitcal See of *Canterbury*. The first, and the two last, either hindred by sickness, or by some other lawfull impediment, were not in a condition to attend the service; which notwithstanding was performed by the other four on Sunday the seventeenth of that Month, according to the Ordinal of King *Edward* the sixth, then newly printed for that purpose; the Ceremony performed in the Chapel at *Lambeth house*, the East end whereof was hanged with rich *Tapestry*, and the floor covered with red cloth; the Morning Service read by *Pearson* the Archbishops Chaplain, the Sermon preached by Doctor *Scory* Lord Elect of *Hereford*, on those words of *St. Peter*, *The Elders which are among you I exhort, &c.* 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. The Letters Patents for proceeding to the Consecration publicly read by Doctor *Dale*, the Act of Consecration legally performed by the imposition of the hands of the said four Bishops, according to the ancient Canons and King *Edward's* Ordinal; and after all, a plentiful dinner for the entertainment of the company which resorted thither, amongst whom, *Charles Howard*, eldest son of *William* Lord *Effingham*, created afterwards Lord Admiral and Earl of *Nottingham*, hapned to be one, and after testified to the truth of all these particulars, when the reality and form of this Consecration was called in question by some captious sticklers for the Church of *Rome*.

For so it was, that some sticklers for the Church of *Rome* having been told of the dinner which was made at the *Nags head Tavern* at such time as the election of the new Archbishop was confirmed in the Arches, raised a report, that the *Nags head Tavern* was the place of the Consecration. And this report was countenanced by another slander, causing it to be noised abroad, and published in some seditious Pamphlets, that the persons designed by the Queen for the several Bishopricks, being met at a Tavern, did then and there lay hands

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hands upon one another, without Form or Order. The first calumny fathered on one *Keale*, once Hebrew Reader in the University of Oxford, and Chaplain unto Bishop *Banner*; which last relation were sufficient to discredit the whole tale, if there were no other evidence to disprove the same. And yet the silence of all Popish Writers concerning this Nags-head-Consecration, during the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when it had been most material for them to insit upon it, as much discredite the whole figment, as the Author of it. The other published by Dr. *Nicholas Sanders*, (never more truly Dr. *Sanders* than in that particular) in his pestilent and seditious Book, Entituled *De Schismate Anglicano*; whose frequent falsehoods make him no fit Author to be built upon in any matter of importance. Yet on the credit of these two, but on the first especially, the Tale of the Nags-head-Consecration being once taken up, was generally exposed to sale, as one of the most vendible commodities in the writings of some Romish Priests and Jesuits; as *Champney's*, *Fitzsimons*, *Parson*, *Kellison*, &c. They knew right well, that nothing did more justify the Church of England in the eye of the world, than that it did preserve a succession of Bishops, and consequently of all other sacred Orders, in the ministrations. Without which, as they would not grant it to be a Church, so could they prove it to be none by no stronger Argument than that the Bishops (or the pretended Bishops rather in their opinion) were either not consecrate at all, or not canonically consecrated as they ought to be. And for the gaining of this point, they stood most pertinaciously on the fiction of the Nags-head Tavern, which if it could be proved, or at least believed, there was an end of the Episcopal succession in the Church of England, and consequently also of the Church it self.

For the decrying of this clamour, and satisfying all opponents in the truth of the matter, it was thought fit by Dr. *George Abbot* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to call before him some of the Priests and Jesuits, that is to say, *Fairecloth*, *Leake*, *Laithwaite* and *Collins*, being then prisoners in the *Clinck*. Who being brought to *Lambeth* on the 12th, of May 1613. were suffered in the presence of divers Bishops, to peruse the publick Registers, and thereby to satisfy themselves in all particulars concerning the Confirmation and Consecration of Archbishop *Parker*, according to the circumstances and *Punctillies* before laid down. This stilled the clamour for the present, though it brake out again forty years after, and was again stilled by the care and industry of the right Reverend Dr. *Bamball*, Lord Bishop of *Derry*, in a Book Entituled, *The Church of England defended against some scandalous and fabulous imputations cast upon her*, &c. Which cavil (for it is no better) being thus refelled, the other objections of the Adversaries will be easily answered; though *Barlow* and *Scory* were deprived of their Episcopal Sees, yet first the justice and legality of their deprivation was not clear in Law; and secondly they neither were nor could be deprived of their Episcopal character which remained in them undefaced, as before it was. And whilst the character remained, they were in a capacity of performing all Episcopal Offices to which they should be called by their Metropolitan, or any higher Power directing and commanding in all such matters as concerned the Church. And as for *Suffragans*, by which title *Hodgskins* is Commissionated for the Consecration, they were no other than the *Choroe Episcopi* of the Primitive times, Subsidiary Bishops, ordained for easing the Diocesan of some part of his burthen. By means whereof, they were enabled to perform such offices belonging to that sacred function, not limited to time and place by the ancient Canons, by which a Bishop, was restrained in some certain acts of Jurisdiction to his proper Diocess. Of this sort there were twenty six in the Realm of England, distinguished by the names of such principal Towns as were appointed for their title and denomination. The names and number whereof, together with the jurisdiction and prebeminences proportioned to them, the Reader may peruse in the Act of Parliament made in the 26th. year of King *Henry* the 8th.

No

No sooner was this solemnity ended, but a new mandate comes for the Confirmation of Dr. *Barlow* in the See of *Chichester*, and Dr. *Scory* to the See of *Hertford*, to which they had been severally elected in *August* last. And though the not restoring of them to their former Sees, might seem to justify the late Queen *Mary* in their deprivation, yet the Queen wanted not good reasons for their present removal; not that she did consult therein her own power and profit, (as is thought by some) but studied rather their content and satisfaction, than her own concerns. For *Barlow* having waited the revenue of the Church of *Wells*, could not with any comfort behold a place which he had so spoiled; and *Scory* having been deprived of the See of *Chichester*, under pretence of wanting a just title to it, desired not to be put upon the hazard of a second ejection. But as for *Coverdale*, he did not only waive the acceptance of *Oxon*, but of any other Church then vacant. He was now 72 years old, and desired rather to enjoy the pleasure of a private life, than be disquieted in his old age with the cares of Government. And somewhat might be also in it of a disaffection, not to the Calling but the Habit, which is to be believed the rather, because he attended not at the Consecration in his Cope and Rochet, as the others did, but in a plain black Coat reaching down to his Ankles. And now the rest of the Episcopal Sees begin to fill; for on the 21 of the same December, Dr. *Edmond Grindall* was consecrated to the See of *London*, Dr. *Richard Cox* to that of *Ely*, Dr. *Edwin Sandys* to the Church of *Worcester*, Dr. *Rowland Merick* unto that of *Bangor*. On the 21 of January then next following, Dr. *Nicholas Bullingham* was by the like consecration made Bishop of *Lincoln*, the right learned Mr. *John Jewel* (who afterwards accepted the degree of Doctor) Bishop of *Sarisbury*, Dr. *Thomas Young* Bishop of *St David's*, and Mr. *Richard Davis* Bishop of *St. Asaph*. The 24th. of March was honoured with the Consecration of three other Bishops, that is to say, of Mr. *Thomas Bentham* to the See of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, of Mr. *Gilbert Barclay* to the See of *Wells*, and of Dr. *Edmund Guest* to that of *Rocheſter*. On the 24th. of July comes the consecration of Dr. *William Alley* to the Church of *Exon*, and that of Mr. *John Parkhurst* to the Church of *Norwich*, on the first of September. By which account we find no fewer than sixteen Sees to be filled with new Bishops, within the compass of the year, men of ability in matter of learning, and such as had a good report for the integrity of their lives and conversations. Nor was it long before the rest of the Episcopal Sees were supplied with new Pastors, as shall be shewn hereafter in due time and place. The Queens commission of survey had not crossed the *Trent*, which possibly may be the reason why we find no new Bishops in the Province of *York*; and *Winchester* must afford one *Michaëmas* rent more to the Queens Exchequer, before the Lord Treasurer could give way to a new incumbent.

And now we may behold the face of the Church of *England*, as it was first settled and established under Queen *Elizabeth*. The Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, according to the practice of the best and happiest times of Christianity. These Bishops nominated and elected according to the Statute in the 26th. of King *Henry* the 8th. and consecrated by the Ordinal, confirmed by Parliament, in the 5th. and 6th. years of King *Edward* the 6th. never appearing publicly but in their Rochets, nor officiating otherwise than in Copes at the Holy Altar. The Priests not stirring out of doors but in their square Caps, Gowns, or Canonical Coats, nor executing any divine Office but in their Surplice, a vestment set apart for Religious services in the Primitive times, as may be gathered from *St Chrysostome* for the Eastern Churches, and from *St Hierom* for the Western. The Doctrine of the Church reduced unto its ancient purity, according to the Articles agreed upon in Convocation Anno 1552. The Liturgy conform to the Primitive patterns, and all the Rites and Ceremonies therein prescribed, accommodated to the honour of God and increase of piety. The Festivals preserved in their former dignity, observed with their distinct Offices peculiar to them, and celebrated

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with a Religious concourse of all sorts of people ; the weekly Fasts, the holy time of Lent, the Embring weeks, together with the Fast of the Rogation, severely kept by a forbearance of all kind of flesh, not now by vertue of the Statute, as in the time of King Edward, but as appointed by the Church in her publick Calender before the Book of Common Prayer. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper celebrated in most reverend manner, the Holy Table seated in the place of the Altar, the people making their due reverence at their first entrance into the Church, kneeling at the Communion, the Confession, and the publick Prayers, standing up at the Creed, the Gospels, and the *Gloria Patri*, and using the accustomed reverence at the name of Jesus. Musick retained in all such Churches in which provision had been made for the maintenance of it, or where the people could be trained up at the least to plain-song: All which particulars were either established by the Lawes, or commanded by the Queens Injunctions, or otherwise retained by vertue of some anient usages not by Law prohibited. Nor is it much to be admired, that such a general conformity to those ancient usages was constantly observed in all Cathedral, and the most part of the Parish Churches, considering how well they were presided by the Court it self, in which the Liturgy was officiated every day both morning and evening, not only in the publick Chapel, but the private Closet; celebrated in the Chapel with Organs, and other musick instruments, and the most excellent voices both of men and children, that could be got in all the Kingdom. The Gentlemen and children in their Surplices, and the Priests in Copes as oft as they attended the Divine Service at the Holy Altar. The Altar furnished with rich Plate, two fair gilt Candlesticks with Tapers in them, and a masse Crucifix of silver in the midst thereof. Which last remained there for some years, till it was broke in pieces by *Pach* the Fool (no wiser man daring to undertake such a desperate service) at the solicitation of Sir Francis Knolles, the Queens neer Kinsman by the *Caries*, and one who openly appeared in favour of the Schism at *Frankfort*. The anient Ceremonies accustomedly observed by the Knights of the Garter in their adoration toward the Altar, abolished by King Edward the 6th. and revived by Queen Mary, were by this Queen retained as formerly in her Fathers time, which made that Order, so esteemed amongst forein Princes, that the Emperors, *Maximilian* and *Rodolphus*, the French Kings, *Charles* the 9th. and *Henry* the 3d. together with *Francis* Duke of *Mont Morency*, though of a contrary Religion to her, (not to say any any thing of divers *Lutheran* Kings and Princes) did thankfully accept of their elections into that society. The solemn Sermons upon each *Wednesday*, *Friday*, and *Sunday* in the time of Lent, preached by the choicest of the Clergy, the devoutly heard, attired in black, according to the commendable custome of her Predecessors, in which if any thing elapsed them contrary to the Doctrine and approved Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. they were sure to hear of it; for which she received both thanks and honour from her very enemies, as appears by Dr. *Harding's* Epistle Dedicatory before his Answer to the *Apology* writ by Bishop *Jewel*. Particularly when one of her Chaplains (Mr. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *Sr. Pauls*) had spoke less reverently in a Sermon preached before her of the sign of the Crofs, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and to return unto his Text. And on the other side, when one of her Divines had preached a Sermon in defence of the *Real Presence*, on the day commonly called *Good Friday*, Anno 1565. she openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety. The Bishops and the Clergy had been but ill proficients in the school of conformity under so excellent a Mistress, if they had not kept the Church in the highest splendor, to which they were invited by that great example. And in this glorious posture still had lasted longer, had not her Order been confounded, and her Peace disturbed by some factious spirits; who having had their wils at *Frankfort*, or otherwise ruling the Presbytery when they were at *Geneva*, thought to have carried all before them with the like facility when they were in *England*.

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But leaving them and their designs to some other time, we must next look upon the aid which the Queen sent to those of the reformed Religion in the Realm of *Scotland*, but carried under the pretence of dislodging such *French* Forces as were Garrisoned there, and might have proved bad neighbours to the Kingdom of *England*. Such of the Scots as desired a Reformation of Religion, taking advantage by the Queens absence, the easiness of the Earl of *Arran*, and want of power in the Queen Regent to suppress their practices, had put themselves into a Body; Headed by some of the Nobility, they take unto themselves the name of the *Congregation*, managing their own affairs apart from the rest of the Kingdom, and in assurance of their own strength, petition to the Queen Regent and the Lords of the Council, that the Sacrament of the Lords Supper might be administred in both kinds, that Divine Offices might be celebrated in the Vulgar tongue, and that they might have the choice of their own Ministers according to the practice (as it was pretended) of the Primitive times. The Answer hereunto was fair and gracious, but rather for the gaining of time, than with a purpose to grant any of the points demanded. The principal Leaders of the party, well followed by the common people, put themselves into *Perth*, and there begin to stand on higher terms than before they did. The news whereof occasioneth *Knox* to leave his Sanctuary in *Geneva*, and joyn himself unto the Lords of the Congregation; At *Perth* he goes into the Pulpit, and falls so bitterly on Images, Idolatry, and other superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, that the people in a popular fury desace all the Images in that Church, and presently demolish all Religious Houses within that City; This hapned about the end of *May*, Anno 1559. and gave a dangerous example to them of *Couper*, who forthwith on the hearing of it destroyed all the Images, and pulled down the Altars in that Church also. Preaching at *Craile* he inveighed sharply against the Queen Regent, and vehemently stirred up the people to joyn together for the expulsion of the *French*, which drew after it the like destruction of all Altars and Images as was made before at *Perth* and *Couper*. The like followed on his preaching at *Sr. Andrews* also, the Religious Houses being pulled down as well as the Images, and laid so flat, that there was nothing left in the form of a building. Inflamed by the same firebrand, they burned down the rich Monastery of *Scone*, and ruined that of *Cambuskenneth*, demolished all the Altars, Images, and Covents of Religious persons in *Sterling*, *Lithgow*, *Glasgough*, *Edenburgh*, make themselves Masters of the last, and put up their own Preachers into all the Pulpits of that City, not suffering the Queen Regent to have the use of one Church onely for her own devotions.

Not staid they there, but being carried on by the same ill spirit, they pass an Act among themselves for depriving the Queen Regent of all place and power in the publick Government; concerning which, the Oracle being first consulted, returned this Answer, sufficiently ambiguous, as all Oracles are, that is to say, *That the iniquity of the Queen Regent ought not to withdraw their hearts from the obedience due to their Sovereigns, nor did he wish any such sentence to be pronounced against her, but when she should change her course, and submit her self to good counsel, there should be place left unto her of regresse to the same honors, from which, for good causes, she ought to be deprived.* This Act is intimated to the Queen Regent, who now begins as seriously to provide for her own preservation, as she had done before in maintenance of the Queens Authority. Some Forces had been sent from *France*, together with many Arms and Ammunition in proportion to them; but these not being great enough to suppress those insolencies, she is supplied at times with 3000 Foot, beside *Ottavian's* Regiment sent over to make way for the rest. Some Horse were also shipt from *France*, but so scattered and dispersed by tempest, that few of them came safely thither. Yet by the terror of their coming, and the noise of more, she recovereth *Edenborough*, compellerh the confederate Scots to go further North, fortifies *Lieith* the Port-Town to *Edenborough*, and the chief Key of all that

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that Kingdom, Garrisoned forthwith by the *French*, not onely to make good their *Entrance*, but second their *Exit*. On these discouragements, many of the *Scotts* soldiers drop away, and the rest refuse to stand unto their Arms, without present pay. Had the *French* gone to work like soldiers, and poured such forces into that Kingdom as the condition of affairs did require at their hands, they might easily have suppressed that scattered Faction, before they were united under the protection of a forein Power; but this doing of their work by halves proved the undoing of the whole, and onely served to give the *Scotts* sufficient time to renew their forces, and all the *English* to their aid. They had all along maintained a correspondence with some in *England*, but more particularly with *Crofts* Governor of the Town of *Barwick*; To him they send for a supply in this great necessity, by whom their Agents are dispatched with four thousand Crowns; but the Queen Regent was so seasonably advertised of it, that she intercepted on the way both the men and the money.

In this extremity they take counsel of despair, with *Knox*, by whom they are advised to cast themselves into the arms of the Queen of *England*, the onely visible means then left to support the cause; to whom the neighbourhood of the *French*, upon just jealousies and reasons of State, was not very acceptable. No better counsel being offered (as indeed none could) *Maitland* and *Melvin* are dispatched to the Court of *England*, by whom the Queen is made acquainted with the state of that Kingdom, the difficulty under which it struggled, the danger like to fall on her own Dominions if the *French* should grow too strong in *Scotland*; and thereupon entreat her succours and assistance for the expulsion of that People, who otherwise might to both Realms prove alike destructive. The business being taken into consideration, it was conceived by some of the Council, that the Queen ought not to give ear unto their desires; that it was a matter of dangerous consequence, and of ill example, to assist the Subjects of that or any other Kingdom against their own natural and lawful Princes, and that she did not know how soon it might be her own case, to have the like troubles and commotions raised against her by those who liked not her proceedings in the change of Religion. By others it was thought a matter of no small impiety not to assist their brethren of the same profession, imploring their assistance in the present exigency; that it was a work of charity to defend their neighbours from the oppression of strangers; that the *French* were always enemies to the Crown of *England*, and therefore that it could not be consistent with the rules of prudence to suffer them to grow too strong upon their borders; that the French King had already assumed the Title of *England*, and it concerned them to take care that they gave him not by their improvidence the possession also. These reasons carried it for the *Scotts*, And so they are dismiss with promise of such present aid, and on such conditions as should be agreed on by Commissioners on both sides in the Town of *Barwick*.

About the middle of *February* the Commissioners meet, the Duke of *Norfolk* for the Queen, the Lord *James Stewart* (one of the bastard brothers of the Queen of *Scotts*) the Lord *Rushwen*, and some other principal men of the Congregation in the name of the rest: By whom it was concluded on the 27th. of that month, That the Queen should send sufficient forces into *Scotland* both by Sea and Land, furnished with Money, Arms, and Ammunition; that she should not recall her forces till that Kingdom was cleared of all the *French*; that provision of Victuals for the Army should be made by the *Scotts*, & that the *Scotts* should shew themselves enemies to all such as were enemies to the Crown of *England*, whether *Scotts* or *French*; But by all means, that nothing should be done by virtue of this Agreement, which might import the least withdrawing of the *Scotts* from that loyalty, duty, and obedience which was due unto their natural Queen, or the King her husband. By which Agreement with the *Scotts* the Queen abundantly provided for her own security from all Invasions on that side; and by affording them such succours as their wants required,

quired, but chiefly by conferring some small annual pensions on the Chiefs amongst them, she made her self more *absent* on that side of the *Tweed*, than either the Queen of Scots her self, or King James her son, or any of their Predecessors in all times before. According to these Capitulations, an Army gallantly appointed is sent into *Scotland*, consisting of 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse, and commanded by the Lord *Gray* a right expert Soldier, accompanied by some Lords and Gentlemen of eminent quality; some ships were also sent to block up the Haven, and hinder all relief which might come by Sea to the Town of *Leith*, on the defence whereof depended the whole hopes of the *French*, together with the interest of that Crown in the Realm of *Scotland*.

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It was about the beginning of *April* that the English Army came before it, recruited afterwards by the coming of 2000 more; which fresh supply, together with some ill success which they found in the action, did so disanimate the besieged, that they conceived no possibility of a long resistance; Ambassadors are therefore sent from *France* to *Edinburgh*, there to confer with such of the same quality as should also come thither, authorised by the Queen of *England*, by whom it was in fine concluded, That all the *French* Forces should forthwith depart out of *Scotland*, except 60 onely to be left in *Dunbar*, and as many in the Fort of *Nachkeeb*; that they should be transported for their greater safety in English Bottoms; that all matters of Religion should be referred to the following Parliament; that an act of Oblivion should be passed for the indemnity of all who had born Arms on either side; that a general Bond of Love and Amity should be made betwixt the Lords and their Adherents of both Religions; and finally, amongst many other particulars, that neither the Queen of Scots nor the *French* King should from thenceforth assume the Titles and Arms of *England*. Which Articles being signed and confirmed for both Kingdoms, the *French* about the middle of *July* take their leave of *Scotland*, and the English Army at the same time set forward for *Barwick*, being there disbanded and dismissed to their several dwellings. Followed not long after by the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencarn*, in the name of the rest of the Congregation, sent purposely to render to the Queen their most humble thanks for her speedy & prosperous assistance, and to desire the continuance of her Majesties favours, if the *French* should any more attempt to invade their Country. Assured whereof, and being liberally rewarded with gifts and presents, they returned with joy and glad tydings to the Congregation, whom as the Queen had put upon a present confidence of going vigorously on in their Reformation, so it concerned them to proceed so carefully in pursuance of it, as might comply with the dependence which they had upon her.

First therefore, that she might more cordially espouse their quarrel, they bound themselves by their subscription to embrace the Liturgy, with all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which for a time remained the onely form of Worship for the Kirk of *Scotland*; when, and by whose means they receded from it, may be shown hereafter. In the next place they cause a Parliament to be called in the month of *August*, according to the Articles of the Pacification, from which no person was excluded, who either had the right of Suffrage in his own capacity, or in relation to their Churches, or as returned from their Shirealties or particular Burroughs; of which last, there appeared the accustomed number, but of the Lords Spiritual, no more than six Bishops of thirteen, with thirteen Abbots and Priors or thereabouts; and of the Temporal Lords to the number of ten Earls and as many Barons: By whose Authority and consent they passed three Acts, conducting wholly to the advantage of the Reformation; the first whereof was for abolishing the Popes Jurisdiction and Authority within the Realm; the second, for annulling all Statutes made in former times for maintenance of Idolatry and Superstition; and the third, for the punishment of the Sayers and Hearers of the Masse. To this Parliament also some of the Ministers presented *A Confession of the Faith and Doctrine to be believed and professed by the Protestants of the*

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Kirk of Scotland; modelled in many places by the Principles of Calvin's Doctrine, which Knox had brought with him from Geneva; but being put unto the Vote, it was opposed by no more than three of the Temporal Lords, that is to say, the Earl of Arball, and the Lords Somervil and Borswick, who gave no other reason for it, but that they would believe as their fathers did. The Popish Prelates were silent in it, neither assenting nor opposing: Which being observed by the Earl-Marshal, he is said to have broke out into these words following; *Seeing (saith he) that my Lords the Bishops (who by their learning can, and for the zeal they should have to the truth, ought as I suppose to gainsay any thing repugnant to it) say nothing against the Confession we have heard; I cannot think but that it is the very truth of God, and that the contrary of it false and deceivable Doctrine.*

Let us now cross over into Ireland, where we shall find the Queen as active in advancing the reformed Religion, as she had been in either of the other Kingdoms. King Henry had first broke the ice, by taking to himself the Title of *Supream Head* on earth of the Church of Ireland, exterminating the Popes authority, and suppressing all the Monasteries and Religious Houses. In matters doctrinal, and forms of Worship, as there was nothing done by him, so neither was there much endeavoured in the time of King Edward, it being thought perhaps unsafe to provoke that people in the Kings minority, considering with how many troubles he was elsewhere exercised. If any thing were done therein, it was rather done by toleration than command. And whatsoever was so done, was presently undone again in the Reign of Queen Mary. But Queen Elizabeth having settled her affairs in England, and undertaken the protection of the Scots, conceived her self obliged in point of piety, that Ireland also should be made partaker of so great a benefit. A Parliament is therefore held on the 12th. of January, where past an Act, restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over all Ecclesiastical and Spiritual persons. By which Statute were established both the Oath of Supremacy and the High Commission, as before in England. There also past an Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. with a permission for saying the same in Latine, in such Church or place, where the Minister had not the knowledge of the English Tongue. But for translating it into Irish (as afterwards into Welsh in the 5th. year of this Queen) there was no care taken, either in this Parliament, or in any following. For want whereof, as also by not having the Scriptures in their native language, most of the natural Irish have retained hitherto there old barbarous customes, or pertinaciously adhere to the corruptions of the Church of Rome. The people by that Statute are required under several penalties, to frequent their Churches, and to be frequent at the reading of the English Liturgy, which they understand no more than they do the Mass. By which means the Irish was not only kept in continual ignorance as to the Doctrines and Devotions of the Church of England, but we have furnished the Papists with an excellent Argument against our selves, for having the Divine Service celebrated in such a language as the people do not understand.

There also past another Statute for restoring to the Crown the first fruits, and twenty parts of all Ecclesiastical promotions within that Kingdom; as also of all impropriat Parsonages, which there are more in number than those Rectories which have cure of souls. King Henry had before united the first fruits, &c. to the Crown Imperial, but Queen Mary out of her affection to the Church of Rome, had given them back unto the Clergy, as before was said. The like Act passed for the restitution of all such lands belonging to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, as by that Queen had been regranted to the Order; with the avoidance of all Leases and other grants, which had been made by Sir Oswald Massingberd, the late Lord Prior of the same. Who fearing what was like to follow, had voluntarily forsook the Kingdom in the August foregoing, and thereby saved the Queen the charge of an yearly pension, which otherwise he might have had as his Predecessors had before him in the

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time of King Henry. During the Reign of which King, a Statute had been made in Ireland (as in England also) for the electing and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, repealed in the year first of Queen Mary, and now revived by her sister, in which there is nothing more memorable; than that amongst many other Ceremonies therein directed, there is mention of giving the *Pall* to a new Archbishop, that being an Ornament or Habit peculiar only unto those of the highest rank in the holy Hierarchy. And that she might not only take care for the good of the Church, without consulting her own safety, she caused an Act to pass for the recognition of her own just title to the Crown, as before in England. All which being done, she left the prosecution of the work to her Bishops and Clergy, not so well countenanced by power as they were by Law; and yet more countenanced by Law than they made good use of. For many of them finding how things went in England, and knowing that the like alterations would ensue amongst themselves, resolved to make such use of the present times, as to enrich their Friends and kindred by the spoil of their Churches. To which end they so dissipated the revenues of their several Bishopricks, by long Leases, fee Farms, and plain alienations, that to some of their Sees they left no more than a Rent of five Marks per annum, to others a bare yearly Rent of 40 shillings, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, the reproach of Religion, the great dishonour of the Church, and the perpetual ignominy of themselves, and that holy See.

It is now time that we should sail again for England, where we shall find an entertainment made ready for us in a Sermon preached by Reverend Jewel, then newly Consecrated Bishop of the Church of Sarisbury. The Sermon preached at St Paul's Cross on the 30th, of March, being *Purification-Sunday*, or the Sunday fortnight before *Easter*, the Text or Theme of his discourse being taken out of St Paul's 1 Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. 11. Ver 23. *That which I delivered to you I received of the Lord, &c.* Which Text being opened, and accommodated to the present times, he published that memorable *Challenge*, which so much exercised the pens and studies of the *Romish* Clergy. By whom the Church had been injuriously upbraided with the imputation of novelty, and charged with teaching such opinions as were not to be found in any of the ancient Fathers, or approved Councils, or any other Monument of true Antiquity, before *Luther's* time. For the stopping of whose mouths for ever, this learned Prelate made this stout and gallant challenge in these following words.

Bishop Jewel's Challenge.

If any Learned man of our Adversaries, or all the Learned men that be alive be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholick Doctor or Father, or General Council, or Holy Scripture, or any one example in the Primitive Church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved, during the first six hundred years, 1. That there was at that time any private Masse in the world. 2. Or that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind. 3. Or that the people had their Common Prayer in a strange tongue that the people understood not. 4. Or that the Bishop of Rome was then called an universal Bishop, or the head of the universal Church. 5. Or that the people were then taught to believe that *Christ's* body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the Sacrament. 6. Or that his body is or may be in a thousand places or more at one time. 7. Or that the Priest did then hold up the Sacrament over his head. 8. Or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour. 9. Or that the Sacrament was then or now ought to be hanged up under a Canopy. 10. Or that in the Sacrament after the words of Consecration, there remain only the accidents and *showes*, without the substance of Bread and Wine. 11. Or that then the Priests divided the Sacrament into three parts, and afterwards received himself all alone. 12. Or that whosoever had said the Sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token

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token or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been judg'd for an Heretick, 13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five Masses laid in one day. 14. Or that images were then set up in the Churches, to the intent the people might worship them. 15. Or that the lay people were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue. 16. Or that it was then lawful for the Priest to pronounce the words of Consecration closely, or in private to himself. 17. Or that the Priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father. 18. Or to communicate and receive the Sacrament for another, as they do. 19. Or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by the means of the Masse. 20. Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people, that *Masse ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sin. 21. Or that any Christian man called the Sacrament the Lord his God. 22. Or that the people were then taught to believe that the body of Christ remaineth in the Sacrament, as long as the accidents of Bread and Wine remain there without corruption. 23. Or that a mouse, or any other worm or beast, may eat the body of Christ, (for so some of our Adversaries have said and taught.) 24. Or that when Christ said *hoc est corpus meum*, the word *hoc* pointed not to the Bread, but *individuum vagum*, as some of them say. 25. Or that the accidents, or forms, or Shews of Bread and Wine, be the Sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very Bread and Wine it self. 26. Or that the Sacrament was then taken out of the body of Christ that hath hidden under it, and that it was then lawful to use the mother and cause of true Devotion; the conclusion is, that the Sacrament is not content to yield and subscribe.

This Challenge being thus published in so great an auditory, startled the English Papists both at home and abroad, none more than such of the fugitives, as had retired to *Louvain*, *Downay*, or *St Odours* in the Low Country Provinces belonging to the King of Spain. The business first agitated by the exchange of friendly Letters, betwixt the said Reverend Prelate, and Dr *Henry Cole* the late Dean of *St Pauls*; more violently followed in a book of *Raffai's* who first appeared in the lists against the Challenger. Followed therein by *Dorman* and *Marshall*, who severally took up the cudgels to as little purpose; the first being well beaten by *Novel*, and the last by *Calfshil*, in their discourses writ against them. But they were only *velillations*, or preparatory skirmishes in reference to the main encounter, which was reserved for the Reverend Challenger himself, and Dr *John Harding*, one of the Divines of *Louvain*, and the most learned of the College. The Combatants were born in the same County, bred up in the same Grammar School, and studied in the same University also: So that it may be said of them, as the Historian hath of *Jugurth* and *Sylla* under *Cainus Marinus*, that is to say, that they both learned those feats of Arms in the same Camp, and under the same Commander, which afterwards they were to exercise against one another. Both zealous Protestants also in the time of King *Edward*, and both relapsed to Popery in the time of Queen *Mary*; *Jewel* for fear, and *Harding* upon hope of favour and preferment by it. But *Jewel's* fall may be compared to that of *St Peter*, which was short and sudden, rising again by his repentance, and fortified more strongly in his faith than before he was: But *Harding's* like to that of the other *Simon*, premeditated and resolved on, never to be reformed again (so much was there within him of the gaul of bitterness) to his former standing. But some former differences had been between them in the Church of *Sarisbury*, whereof the one was Prebendary, and the other Bishop, occasioned by the Bishops visitation of that Cathedral, in which as *Harding* had the word, so was it a prelude of a second foil which he was to have in this encounter. Who had the better of the day, will easily appear to any that consults the writings. By which it will appear how much the Bishop was too hard for him at all manner of weapons. Whose learned answers as well in maintenance of his Challenge, as in defence of his Apology, (whereof more hereafter) contain in them such a magazin of all sorts

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of learning, that all our controversors since that time, have furnished themselves with Arguments and Authority from it.

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But these discourses came not out until some years after, though the occasion was given now by this famous *Challenge*; the interval being spent in preparations by the *Romish* party, before they shewed themselves in publick. In the mean time, the Papists mad enough before, seemed to grow more outrageous upon this occasion, though they were willing to impute it to some other cause. *Philip of Spain* shewed himself much incensed against her, as well for altering the Religion here by him established, as for refusing him in marriage when the offer had been made to her by the Count of *Feria*: Nor was the Count less troubled at it than the King. And in this melancholy humour he employs all his interests with the Pope then being, for subjecting her unto a sentence of Excommunication. Which motion if it had been press'd on Pope *Paul* the 4th. who seemed very much displeased at her for accepting the Crown without his consent; there is no question to be made but that it had been hearkned to with a listening ear, and executed with a rash and ungoverned hand. But *Paul* the 4th. deceased about the middle of *August*, in the year last past, and *John Angelo* Cardinal of *Medices*, succeeded him by the name of Pope *Pius* the 4th. in *December* following. Who being a more moderate man, did not think fit to proceed to such extremities. For seeing that his power was a thing rather consisting in the conceits of men, than in truth and substance, if it should once appear that this thunderbolt of Excommunication (whereby the world is so much terrified) should prove ineffectual and without all power, then might this great authority fall into contempt, and become ridiculous. Upon which ground he goes another way to work, and is content with all fair and plausible means, for gaining her to the obedience of the *Apollolick*. To which end he directs unto her an affectionate Letter, in which he calls her his dearest daughter, and seems exceedingly careful of her salvation, and the prosperity of her people; not to be found wandering out of the Communion of the *Catholick Church*, to which she is again invired with much *Christian meekness*. Which Letter he dispatcheth by the hands of *Vincentius Parpalio*, a right trusty Minister, and one (by reason of some former employments higher in the time of Queen *Mary*) not unknown to her. Whom he had furnished also with some secret instructions to be communicated to her at his being in *England*. Concerning which (for with that intimation he concludes his Letter) the same *Vincentius* was to deal more largely with her, and declare his fatherly affection towards her; She being in like sort desired to receive him lovingly, hear to him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches, as she would to the Pope himself.

This letter of the Popes bears date on the 5th. of *May*, Anno 1560. before which time the Queen had caused the English Liturgy to be translated into *Latine*, using therein the pen and diligence of *Walter Haddon*, (as some suppose) who afterwards appeared against *Orians* upon several Arguments. And being translated into *Latine*, it was commanded by her Letters Patents of the first of *April*, not only to all Colleges and Halls in both Universities, but also to the Colleges of *Eaton* and *Winchester*, to be used by them in their several and respective Chapells. And she caused further, some selected Hymns to be added to it for some particular occasions, but most especially to be sung in funerals and solemn obsequies; which not being warranted by the Statute of the year preceding, were therefore authorized with a *non obstante*. All which as she was thought to do, to satisfy and instruct the foreign Princes in the form and fashion of our Devotions; So did she so far satisfy the Pope then being, that he shewed himself willing to confirm it by his Papal power. The learned *Cardinal*, who received all his choice intelligence from Sir *William Cecil*, (but better known in his last times by the name of Lord *Burleigh*) gives us to understand, that this *Parpalio* was instructed to offer in the name of his Holiness, that the English Liturgy should be confirmed; the use of the Communion in both kinds

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kinds allowed of. And that all Sentences which had passed in the Court of *Rome* against the marriage of her Mother, should be rescinded and made void, conditioned onely, that she would re-unite her self to the *Roman* Church, and acknowledge the Primacy of that See. For the carrying on of which accord, the Abbot was commissioned to distribute some thousands of Crowns amongst such men, as should be found most forward to effect the same. *Sanders* makes this to be another of his secret mandates, that if she had any diffidence in her Title to the Crown of *England*, either in regard of the doubtfulness of her Legitimation, or any thing which had been done by the authority of the Pope and Church of *Rome*, all matters should be cleared and sweetened to her best advantage, by the benignity and favour of the See Apostolick. But for all this, the Abbot came no nearer than *Bussells* with his Bulls and Faculties, not being suffered to set foot upon English ground, whether it were upon a probable suspicion, that under colour of such plausible and specious overtures, he was designed to encourage a Rebellion amongst the Papists, as was thought by some; or rather, that the Queen was grown so confident of her own just Title, and the affections of her people, as not to be beholden to the Pope for a confirmation, remains a matter undetermined by our best Historians. How it succeeded with this Pope in another project for the reducing of this Kingdom under his command, we shall see hereafter.

But all this while there was no care taken to suppress the practice of another Faction, who secretly did as much endeavour the subversion of the English Liturgy, as the Pope seemed willing to confirm it; For whilst the Prelates of the Church, and the other learned men before remembred, bent all their forces toward the confuting of some Popish Errors, another enemy appeared, which seemed more generally to aim at the Church's Doctrines, but quarrelled rather at some Rites and Ceremonies of it. Their purpose was to shew themselves so expert in the Art of War, as to take in the Out-works of Religion first, before they levelled there Artillery at the Fort it self. The Schismatics at *Frankfort* had no sooner heard of Queen *Mary's* death, but they made what haste they could for *England*, in hope of fishing better for themselves in a troubled water than a composed and quiet Current; Followed not long after by the brethren of the Separation, which retired from thence unto *Geneva*, who having left some few behind to compleat their Notes upon the Bible, and make up so many of the *Psalms in English Meter* as had been left unfinished by *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, haltned as fast homewards as the others. But notwithstanding all their haste, they came not time enough to effect their purposes, either in reference to the Liturgy or Episcopal Government, on which the Queen had so resolved according to her own most excellent judgment, that they were not able to prevail in either project. It grieved them at the heart that their own Prayers might not be made the rule of Worship in their Congregations, and that they might be Lord it here in their several Parishes, as *Calvin* did in the Presbytery of the Church of *Geneva*. Some friends they had about the Queen, and *Calvin* was resolved to make use of all his power and credit both with her and *Cecil* (as appears by his Letters unto both) to advance their ends; and he was seconded therein by *Peter Martyr*, who thought his interest in *England* to be greater than *Calvin's*, though his name was not so eminent in other places. But the Queen had fixed her self on her resolution of keeping up the Church in such outward splendor, as might make it every way considerable in the eye of the world; so that they must have faith enough to remove a mountain, before they could have hope enough to draw her to them. When therefore they saw the Liturgy imposed by Act of Parliament, and so many Episcopal Sees supplied with able Pastors, nothing seemed more expedient to them than to revive the quarrels raised in King *Edward's* time against Capps and Surplices, and such particulars as had then been questioned in the publick Liturgy; And herein they were seconded (as before in King *Edward's* time) by the same *Peter Martyr*, as appears by his Letters to a name-

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let's friend, bearing date at *Zurick* on the 4th. of *November* 1560. to which he added his dislike in another of his Letters to the same friend also, touching the same and other points proposed unto him, that is to say, the Cap, the Episcopal Habit, the Patrimony of the Church, the manner of proceeding to be held against Papists, the Perambulation used in the Rogation weeks, with many other points of the like condition, in which his judgment was desired.

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But these helps being too far off, and not to be consulted with upon all inconveniencies, without a greater loss of time than could consist with the impatience of their desires, they fell upon another project, which promised them more hopes of setting up their Discipline, and decrying the Liturgy, their quarrells about Caps and Vestments. Some friends they had about the Court, as before was said, and *Gryndal* the new Bishop of *London* was known to have a great respect to the name of *Calvin*, the business therefore is so ordered, that by *Calvin's* Letters unto *Gryndal*, and the friends they had about the Queen, way should be given to such of the *French* Nation, as had repaired hither to enjoy the freedom of their own Religion, to have a Church unto themselves, and in that Church not onely to erect the *Genevian* discipline, but to set up a form of Prayer, which should hold no conformity with the English Liturgy. They could not but remember those many advantages which *John Alasco* and his Church of Strangers afforded to the *Zuinglian* Gospelers in the Reign of King *Edward* 1. and they despaired not of the like, nor of greater neither, if a *French* Church were settled upon *Calvin's* Principles, in some part of *London*. A Synagogue had been built for the use of the *Jews* Anno 1231, not far from the place in which now stands the Hall of the *Merchant-Taylor*: near the Royal Exchange: But the *Jews* having removed themselves to some other place, the Christians obtained that it should be dedicated to the blessed Virgin, and by that name was given unto the Brotherhood of *St. Anthony* of *Vienna* by King *Henry* the 3d. After which time, an Hospital was there founded by the name of *St. Anthony*, consisting of a Master, two Priests, one School-master, and twelve poor men; Enlarged in the succeeding times by the addition of a fair Grammar-School, and other publick Buildings for the use of the Brethren. It was privileged by King *Edward* the 4th. to have Priests, Clerks, Scholars, poor men, and Brethren of the same, or Laymen, Quiristers, Proctors, Messengers, Servants in household, and other things whatsoever, like unto the Prior and Convent of *St. Anthony* of *Venue*, &c. and being so privileged, it was annexed to the Collegiat Chapel of *St. George* in *Windfor*, under whose Patronage it remained, but much impoverished by the fraud and folly of one of its School-masters, till the final dissolution of it, amongst other Hospitals and Brotherhoods, by King *Edward* the sixth; so that being vested in the Crown, and of no present use to the City, it was no hard matter to obtain it for the use of the *French*, as it still continueth.

And now again we have another Church in *London*, as different from the Church of *England* in Government and forms of Worship, and some Doctrinals also, as that of *John Alasco* was in the *Augustine Friars*. Nor must we marvel if we find the like dangerous consequents to ensue upon it: for what else is the setting up of a Presbytery in a Church, founded and established by the Rules of Episcopacy, than the erecting of a Commonwealth or popular Estate in the midst of a Monarchy? Which *Calvin* well enough perceived, and thereupon gave *Gryndal* thanks for his favour in it, of whom they after served themselves upon all occasions. Upon the news of which success, divers both *French* and *Dutch* repaired into *England*, planting themselves in the Seavowns, and openly professing the Reformed Religion, under which covert, they disguised their several Heterodoxies and blasphemous Dotages, some of them proving to be *Anabaptists*, others infected with unsound opinions of a ill nature, but all endeavouring so to disperse their Heretical Doctrines, and by invenioming the good people amongst whom they lived, to encrease their

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Sects. Which being made known unto the Queen, she presently commands them all by her Proclamation to depart the Kingdom, whether they were Aliens or natural born English, and not to stay above the term of twenty days, upon pain of imprisonment, and forfeiture or loss of all their goods: Which Proclamation notwithstanding, too many of them lurked in *England* without fear of discovery, especially after the erecting of so many *French* and *Dutch* Churches in the Maritime parts, as at this time they did in *London*, infecting the *French* and *Dutch* Churches there with some of their frenzies; and occasioned such disputes amongst them upon that account, that *Peter Martyr* found it necessary to interpose his authority with them, to the composing of those Heats and differences which had grown amongst them; for which he wrote his Letter bearing date at *Zurich* on the 15th. of *February*, next following after the date of the said Proclamation, and superscribed, *Unto the Church of Strangers in the City of London*.

Now for the date of the said Proclamation, it seemeth to have been about the 19th. of *September*, at which time it pleased the Queen to set forth another, no less conducing to the honour, than did the other to the preservation of the Churches purity. She had given command by her Injunctions in the year foregoing, "for destroying and taking away all Shrines, and coverings of Shrines, all Tables, Candlesticks, *Trindals*, and Rolls of Wax, together with all Pictures, Paintings, and other monuments of feigned Miracles, Pill-grimages, Idolatry and Superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass-windows, or else-where, whether it were in Churches or mens private houses. But some perverting rather than mistaking her intention in it, guided by covetousness, or over-ruled by some new fangle in Religion, under colour of conforming to this command, defaced all such Images of Christ and his Apostles, all Paintings which presented any History of the holy Bible, as they found in any windows of their Churches or Chapels. They proceeded also to the breaking down of all Coats of Arms, to the tearing off of all the Brasses on the Tombs and Monuments of the dead, in which the figures of themselves, their wives or children, their Ancestors, or their Arms, had been referred to posterity. And being given to understand, that Bells had been baptized in the times of Popery, and that even the Churches themselves had been abused to Superstition and Idolatry, their zeal transported them in fine to sell their Bells, to turn the Steeples into Dove-coats, and to rob the Churches of those sheets of Lead with which they were covered. For the restraining of which Sacrilege and prophane abuses, she gave command in her said Proclamation of the 19th. of *September*, "That all manner of men should from thenceforth forbear the breaking or defacing of any parcel of any Monument, or Tomb, or Grave, or other Inscription and Memory of any person deceased, being in any manner of place; Or to break any Image of Kings, Princes, or Nobles, Estates of this Realm, or of any other that have been in times past erected and set up for the onely memory of them to their posterity, in common Churches, and not for any Religious honor; Or to break down or deface any Image in glass-windows in any Church, without the consent of the Ordinary, upon pain of being committed to the next Gaol without Bail or Mainprize, and there to remain till the next coming of the Justices for Gaol-delivery, and then to be further punished by Fine or Imprisonment (besides the restitution or re-edification of the thing broken) as to the said Justices shall seem meet, and if need shall be, to use the advice of her Majesties Council in her Star-chamber.

It was also signified in the said Proclamation, "That some Patrons of Churches and others, who were possessed of Impropriations, had prevailed with the Parson and Parishioners, to take or throw down the Bells of Churches or Chapels, and the Lead of the same, and to convert the same to their private gain, by which ensued not onely the spoil of the said Churches, but even a slanderous defolation of the places of Prayer. And

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"thereupon it was commanded, that no manner of person should from
 "thenceforth take away any Bells or Lead off any Church or Chapel, under
 "pain of Imprisonment during her Majesties pleasure, and such further Fine
 "for the contempt as shall be thought meet; With a charge given to all Bi-
 "shops and other Ordinaries, to enquire of all such contempts done from the
 "beginning of her Majesties Reign, and to enjoin the persons offending to
 "repair the same within a convenient time, and of their doing therein to cer-
 "tifie the Privy Council, or the Council in the Star-chamber, that order may
 "be taken therein. And in pursue of this most seasonable and religious
 "Act, she did not onely signe the said Proclamation, one for all, to authorise
 "it for the Prels, as the custom is, but signed them every one apart (amounting
 "to a very great number) with her own Royal Hand, that so it might be known
 "rather for her own proper act than an act of the council.

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With like care also she provided for the honor and prosperity of her estate,
 in affairs Politick and Civil. The monies of the Realm had been much de-
 bated by King Henry the 8th. to the great disprofit of the Merchant, and re-
 proach of the Kingdom, for which, no remedy had been taken by her Brother
 or Sister, though they had better opportunities, and more advantages to go
 thorow with it. But this brave Queen, endeavouring nothing more, than the
 restoring of her Kingdom to its ancient splendor, first caused all such base
 monies as were coined by any of her Predecessors, to be decayed to a less va-
 lue, according to the fineness or alloy thereof; and that being done, by vertue
 of her Proclamation bearing date the 28th. of September, she caused all the
 said base monies, so reduced to a lower value, to be brought in to her Maje-
 sties Mint, for which she gave them mony of the purest silver, (such as passed
 commonly by the name of *Easterling* or *Sterling* mony) since which time, no
 base mony hath been coyned in England, but onely of pure Gold and Silver,
 to pass for current in the same; save that of late times, in relation to the ne-
 cessity of poor people, a permission hath been given to the coyning of Far-
 things, which no man can be forced to accept in satisfaction of a Rent or
 Debt; which as it could not be affirmed of England in the times preceding, so
 neither can it now be said of any State or Nation in the Christian world, in all
 which, there are several sorts of copper mony, as current with them for pub-
 lick uses, as the purest metal. She provided also in like manner for her peoples
 safety, and the encrease of Trade and Merchandise in English Bottoms; For
 towards the end of this second year, she made great preparation of Ordinance,
 Arms, Munition, and Powder of her own materials, to be in a
 readines to defend her Realm in all emergencies of danger; For the
 advancing of which service it so pleased the divine Providence which watched
 over her actions, that a rich Mine of Brasse was found near *Keswick* in *Cum-
 berland*, such as sufficed not onely for furnishing her own Forts and Ships
 with all manner of Ordinance, but for supplying other Countreies as their
 wants required. And to compleat so great a mercy in her preservation, the
 Stone called *Lapis Calaminaris*, exceeding necessary for all Brasse-works, was
 at the same time also found in England in most plentiful manner. And whereas
 complaint was made unto her by the Merchants of the *Hans-towns*, or Mer-
 chants of the *Stilyard* as then commonly called, that King Edward had first
 seized their Liberties, and that afterwards Queen Mary had raised their Cu-
 stoms upon all sorts of Merchandises from one to twenty in the Hundred,
 her Answer was, That as she was resolved not to Innovate any thing, so she
 could grant no other privileges and immunities to them than those in which
 she found them when she came to the Crown. Their Trading hereupon be-
 ing intermitted, the English Merchants took the managing of it upon them-
 selves, and thrived therein so well after some adventures, that Cloth, and
 other Manufactures, heretofore transported in the ships of those Merchants,
 were from henceforth fraughted and dispersed in English Vessels; By
 means whereof, the English in a very short time attained unto the reputation

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of being the wealthiest Merchants, the most expert Mariners, and the ablest Commanders for Sea-fights of any Nation in the world.

I shall conclude this year with a work of piety in the foundation of the Collegiat Church of *St. Peter in Westminster*, which in the space of twenty years had been changed from an Abbey to a Deanry, from a Deanry to a See Episcopal, reduced unto a Deanry again, and finally restored to the state of an Abbey. But the Abbey being dissolved in the foregoing Parliament, an offer was made to *Facknam* and the rest of the Convent (if *Sanders* be to be believed in this particular) for continuing in their places and possessions as before they did, clogged with no other conditions than the taking of the Oath of *Supremacy*, and officiating all divine Offices by the English Liturgy. But this offer being by them rejected, the Act of dissolution passed in both Houses of Parliament; Concerning which there goes a story, that the Lord Abbot being then busied in planting some young Elms in the Deans yard there, one that came by advised him to desist from his purpose, telling him, That the Bill was just then passed for dissolving his Monastery. To which the good old man replied, That he resolved howsoever to go on with his work, being well assured, that that Church would be always kept for an encouragement and fear of Learning. And so it proved in the event; for the Queen having pleased her self in the choice of some of the best Lands which remained unto it, confirmed the rest upon that Church, which she caused to be called the Collegiat Church of *St. Peter in Westminster*, as appears by her Letters Patens bearing date in the second year of her most gracious and most prosperous Reign. A foundation of a large capacity, and as amply privileged, consisting of a Dean, and twelve secular Canons, two School masters, and forty Scholars, petit Canons and others of the Quire to the number of thirty, ten Officers belonging to the Church, and as many servants appertaining to the College diet, and twelve Alms-men, besides many Officers, Stewards, Receivers, and Collectors, for keeping Courts, and bringing in of their Revenue; the principal of which, called the High Steward of *Westminster*, hath ever since been one of the prime Nobility, and in great favour at the Court. The Dean entrusted with keeping the *Regalia*, honored with a place of necessary service at all Coronations, and a Commissioner for the Peace within the City of *Westminster* and the Liberties of it by Act of Parliament. The Dean and Chapter vested with all manner of jurisdiction both Ecclesiastical and Civil, not onely within the City and Liberties of *Westminster*, but within the precinct of *St. Martins le grand*, and some Towns of *Essex*, exempted in the one from the Bishop of *London*, and in the other from the power of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The Scholars annually preferred by election, either to *Christ Church in Oxon*, or *Trinity College in Cambrige*, each College being bound by an Indenture made with Queen *Elizabeth*, to take off yearly two or three at the least (though since, that number is extended to four or five) to be preferred to Scholarships & Fellowships in their several Houses. A College founded as it proved in such a happy conjuncture, that since this new foundation of it, it hath given breeding and preferment to four Archbishops, two Lord Chancellors, or Lord Keepers of the Great Seal of *England*, twenty two Bishops, and thirteen Deans of cathedral Churches, besides Archdeacons and Prebendaries, and other dignitaries in the Church to a proportionable number; which is more than can be said of either of the two famous Colleges of *Alton* and *Winchester*, or of both together, though the one was founded 168, and the other 114 years before it.

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WE shall begin this third year of the Queen with the death of *Francis* the second, King of the *French*, who deceased on the 5th. day of *December*, when he had scarce lived to the end of his 17th. year, and had Reigned but one year and five months, or thereabouts. His death much altered both the counsels and affairs of *Christendom*, distracting the *French* Nation into schisms and factions, encouraging the *Scots* to proceed with confidence in their Reformation, and promising no small security to *Queen Elizabeth*, in regard of the pretensions of the *Queen of Scots*. But so little was her condition bettered by it, that she seemed to be in more danger by the acts of her enemies after his decease, than formerly in the time of his life and government. *Francis* of *Guisse*, a man of great abilities for Camp and Counsel, had made himself a very strong party in the Court of *France*, which he intended to make use of for the *Queen of Scots*, whose Mother, the late *Queen* Regent of *Scotland*, was his only sister. And this he might the better do by reason of a division in the Court of *France* about the government of the Kingdom, during the minority of *Charles* the 9th. the second brother, and next heir to the King deceased. *Katherine de Medices* the Relict of *Henry* the 2d. and the Mother of *Charles*, layes claim to the Regency; for who could have a greater care either of the young Kings person or estate, than his natural Mother? But against her, as being a meer stranger to the Nation and affairs of *France*, *Anthony of Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendome* by descent, and King of *Navarre*, at the least in Title, in the Right of *Joan d'Albret* his wife, the sole Heir of that Crown, layes his claim unto it, as being the first Prince of the blood, and therefore fitter to be trusted with the Regency by the rules of that government. The *Guisian* faction joyn themselves to that of the *Queen*, of whom they better knew how to make advantage than they could of the other, and to that end endeavour by all subtil artifices, to invest her in it.

To this end they insinuate themselves into the Duke, perswade him either to relinquish his demands of the Regency, or to associate himself with the *Queen-Mother* in the publick government; and to joyn counsels with the *Catholick* party for suppressing the *Hugonots*. Which that they might allure him to, or at least take him off from his first perswade, they offered to procure a Divorce from his present wife, and that instead of holding the Kingdom of *Navarre* in Right of his wife, he should hold it in his own personal capacity by a grant from the Pope, his wife being first deprived of it by his Holiness, as suspected of *Lutheranism*; that being divorced from his wife, he should marry *Mary* *Queen of the Scots*, with whom he should not only have the Kingdom of *Scotland*, but of *England* also, of which *Elizabeth* was to be deprived on the same account; that for the recovery of that Kingdom, he should not only have the Popes authority, and the power of *France*, but also the forces of the King of *Spain*; and finally, that the *Catholick* King did so much study his contentment, that if he would relinquish his pretensions to the Crown of *Navarre*, he should be gratified by him with the sovereignty and actual possession of the Isle of *Sardinia*, of which he should receive the Crown with all due solemnities. By which temptations when they had render'd him suspected to the Protestant party, and thereby settled the *Queen-Mother* in that place and power, which so industriously she aspired to, they laid him by as to the Title, permitting him to live by the air of hope for the short time of his life, which ended on the 17th. of *November*, Anno 1562. And so much of the game was paid in earnest, that the Duke of *Guisse* did mainly labour with the Pope, to fulminate his Excommunications against *Elizabeth*, as one that had renounced his authority, apostatized from the *Catholick* Religion, and utterly exterminated the profession of it out of her Dominions.

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But the Duke sped no better in this negotiation, than the Count of Feria did before. The Pope had still retained some hope of regaining *England*, and meant to leave no way unpractised by which he might obtain the point he aimed at. When first the See was vacant by the death of Pope *Paul* the 4th. the Cardinals assembled in the *Conclave* bound themselves by oath, that for the better settling of the broken and distracted estate of Christendome, the Council formerly held at *Trent*, should be resumed withall convenient speed that might be. Which being too fresh in memory to be forgotten, and of too great importance to be laid aside, the new Pope had no sooner settled his affairs in *Rome*, which had been much disordered by the harshness and temerity of his predecessor, but he resolved to put the same in execution. For this cause he consults with some of the more moderate and judicious Cardinals, and by his resolution and dexterity, surmounts all difficulties which shewed themselves in the design; and he resolved not only to call the Council, but that it should be held in *Trent*, to which it had been formerly called by Pope *Paul* the 3d. 1545. that it should rather be a continuance of the former Council which had been interrupted by the prosecution of the wars in *Germany*, than the beginning of a new; and that he would invite unto it all Christian Princes, his dear daughter Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* amongst the rest. And on these terms he stood when he was importuned by the Ministers of the Duke of *Guise*, to proceed against her to a sentence of Excommunication, and thereby to expose her Kingdom to the next Invader. But the Pope was constantly resolved on his first intention of treating with her after a fair and amicable manner, professing a readiness to comply with her in all reciprocal offices of respect and friendship, and consequently inviting her amongst other Princes to the following Council; to which if she should please to send her Bishops, or be present in the same by her Ambassadors, he doubted not of giving them such satisfaction, as might set him in a fair way to obtain his ends.

Leaving the Pope in this good humour, we shall go for *England*, where we shall find the Prelates at the same employment in which we left them the last year, that is to say, with setting forth the Consecrations of such new Bishops as served to fill up all the rest of the vacant Sees. The first of which was *Robert Horn*, Dr. in Divinity, once Dean of *Durham*, but better known by holding up the English Liturgy, and such a form of Discipline as the times would bear, against the schismatics of *Frankfort*, preferred unto the See of *Winchester*, and consecrated Bishop in due form of Law, on the 16th. of *February*. Of which we shall speak more hereafter on another occasion. On which day also Mr. *Edmond Scambler*, Bachelor of Divinity, and one of the Prebendaries of the new Collegiat Church of *St. Peter* in *Westminster*, was consecrated Bishop of the Church of *Peterborough*. During the vacancy whereof, and in the time of his incumbency, Sir *William Cecil* principal Secretary of Estate, possessed himself of the best Mannors in the *Soke* which belonged unto it; and for his readiness to confirm the same Mannors to him, preferred him to the See of *Norwich*, Anno 1584. Next follows the translation of Dr. *Thomas Young* Bishop of *St. David's*, to the See of *Tork*, which was done upon the 25th. of *February* in an unlucky hour to that City, as it also proved: For scarce was he settled in that See, when he pulled down the grody Hall, and the greatest part of the Episcopal Palace in the City of *Tork*, which had been built with so much care and cost, by *Thomas* the elder, one of his predecessors there, in the year of our Lord 1090. Whether it were for covetousness to make money of the materials of it, or out of sordidness to avoid the charge of Hospitality in that populous City, let them guess that will. Succeeded in the See of *St. David's*, by *Davis* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, translated thither the 21 of *May*, 1561. as he was by another of the same name, Dr. *Thomas Davis*, within few months after.

The Province of *Tork* being thus fitted with a new Archbishop, it was not long before the consecration of Dr. *James Pilkington* to the See of *Durham*, which

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which was performed by the hands of his own Metropolitan on the second of *March*, at whose first coming to tha. See, he found it clogged with an annual pension of 1000. l. to be paid into her Majesties Exchequer yearly, toward the maintenance of the Garison in the Town of *Barwick*, first laid upon this Bishoprick, when that Town seemed to be in danger of such *French* forces as had been brought into that Kingdom, or otherwise might fear some practice of the popish party, for the advancing of the interests of the Queen of *Scots*. The Bishops Tenants were protected in their corn and cattel by the power of this Garison, and consequently the more enabled to make just payment of their rents; and it was thought to be no reason that the Queen should bear the sole charge of protecting his Tenants, and he enjoy the whole benefit of it without any disbursement. But this was only a pretence for raising some revenue to the Crown out of that rich patrimony; the pension being still charged upon it, though the Garison was removed in the first of King *James*. On the same day, that is to say the second of *March*, Dr. *John Best* was consecrated Bishop of *Carlisle*, after the See had been refused by *Bernard G'phins*, Parson of *Houghton* in the Spring, betwixt *Darham* and *Newcastle*. The offer made him with relation to his brother *George*, a man much used in many employments for the State; but on what ground declined by him, is not well assured. Whether it were that he was more in love with the retirements of a private life, or that he could not have the bierd without he yielded to the stripping off of the most part of its feathers (as it came to *Best*) may be sooner questioned than resolved. And finally on the 4th of *May* comes in the consecration of Mr. *William Dowham* (the Queens Chaplain, when she was but Princess, and afterwards made one of the Prelendaries of *St. Peter's* in *Westminster*) to the See of *Chesler*, by this preferment recompensed for his former services. By which last care the vacant Sees were all supplied with learned Pastors, except *Oxon*, *Glocester* and *Bristol*. Of which we shall speak more in the following year.

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But neither this diligence and care in filling all the vacant Sees with learned Pastors, nor the Queens Proclamation for banishing all Anabaptists and other Sectaries which had resorted hither out of other Countreies, could either free the land from those dangerous inmates, or preserve the Church from the contagion of their poysonous doctrines. Too many of those Fanatical spirits still remained behind, scattering their tares, and dispersing their blasphemous follies amongst simple people. In which number they prevailed so far upon *More* and *Geofrys*, that the first profess'd himself to be Christ, the last believed him to be such, and did so report him. Continuing obstinate in this frenzy, *Geofrys* was committed prisoner to the *Marsha's* sea in the Burrough of *Souh-wark*, and *More* to the house of mad men (commonly called *Bethlem*) without Bishops Gate, in the City of *London*. Where having remained above a year, without shewing any sign of their repentance, *Geofrys* was whipt on the 20th. of *April* from the said *Marsha's* sea to *Bethlem*, with a paper bound about his head, which signified that this was *William Geofrys*, a most blasphemous Heretick, who denied Christ to be in Heaven. At *Bethlem* he was whipt again in the presence of *More*, till the lash had extorted a confession of his damnable error. After which *More* was strip and whipt in the open streets till he had made the like acknowledgement, confessing Christ to be in Heaven, and himself to be a vile, miserable, and sinful man. Which being done, they were again remitted to their several prisons for their further cure. At which the Papists made good game, and charged it on the score of the Reformation, as if the Principles thereof did naturally lead men to those dreams and dorages. Whereas they could not chuse but know, that Christ our Saviour prophesied of the following times, that some should say *loe here is Christ*, and others would say *loe there is Christ*; that *Simon Magus* even in the dayes of the Apostles, assumed unto himself the glorious Title of the great power of God; that *Menander* in the age next following, did boldly arrogate to himself the name of Christ; and finally that *Montanus*, when

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when the Church was stored with Learned and Religious Prelates, would needs be taken and accounted for the holy Ghost. Or if they thinke the Reformation might pretend unto more perfection than the Primitive times, they should have looked no farther back than to King *Henry* the 3d. in whose Reign the Popes authority in *England* was at the highest; and yet neither the Pope by his authority, nor by the diligence of his Preachers and other Ministers, could so secure the Church from *Mores* and *Geoffrys*; but that two men rose up at that very time, both which affirmed themselves to be *Jesus Christ*, and were both hanged for it. And as *Monianus* could not go abroad without his *Maximilla* and *Priscilla* to disperse his dotages, so these impostors also had their female followers, of which the one affirmed her self to be *Mary Magdalen*, and the other that she was the Virgin *Mary*. So that the Reformation is to be excused from being accessary in the least degree to these mens heresies, or else the Apostolical Age, and the Primitive times, yea and the Church of *Rome* it self (which they prize much more) must needs come under the necessity of the like condemnation.

Nor did the *Zuinglian* Gospellers, or those of the *Genevian* party, rejoyce much less at a most lamentable accident which hapned to the cathedral Church of *St. Paul* on the fourth of *June*, on which day, about four or five of the clock in the afternoon, a fearful fire first shewed it self near the top of the Steeple, and from thence burnt down the Spire to the stone-work, and Bells, and raged so terribly, that within the space of four hours the Timber and Lead of the whole Church, and whatsoever else was combustible in it, was miserably consumed and burnt, to the great terror and amazement of all beholders; Which Church, the largest in the Christian world for all dimensions, contains in length 720 foot, or 240 Taylors yards, in breadth 130 foot, and in height from the pavement to the top of the roof 150 foot. The Steeple from the ground to the cross or Weather-cock contained in height 520 foot, of which the Square Tower onely amounted to 260. the Pyramid or Spire to as many more. Which Spire being raised of massie Timber, and covered over with sheets of Lead, as it was the more apt to be inflamed, so was the mischief more incapable of a present remedy. The terror being over, most men began to cast about for the first occasion of such a miserable misfortune; the generality of the *Zuinglian* or *Genevian* party affirmed it for a just judgment of God upon an old idolatrous Fabrick, not thoroughly reformed and purged from its Superstitions, and would have been content that all other Cathedrals in the Kingdom had been so destroyed. The Papists on the other side ascribe it to some practice of the *Zuinglian* faction, out of their hatred unto all solemnity and decency in the service of God, performed more punctually in that Church, for examples sake, than in any other of the Kingdom. But generally it was ascribed by the common people to a flash of lightning, or some such suddain fire from heaven, though neither any lightning had been seen, or any clap of thunder had been heard that day. Which fiction notwithstanding got such credit amongst the vulgar, and amongst wiser persons too, that the burning of *St. Paul's* Steeple by lightning was reckoned amongst the ordinary Epoches or accounts of time in our common Almanacks; and so it stood till within these thirty years now last past, when an old Plumber at his death confessed that wofull accident to have hapned through his negligence onely, in leaving carelessly a pan of coals and other fewell in the Steeple when he went to dinner, which catching hold of the dry timber in the Spire before his return, was grown so dangerous, that it was not possible to be quenched, and therefore to no purpose (as he conceived) to make any words of it. Since which discovery, that ridiculous Epoeche hath no more been heard of.

But the Queen quickly hearing what a great misfortune had befallen the City, regarded not the various reports of either party, but bent her thoughts upon the speedy reparation of those fearful ruines; And knowing right well (without the help of an Informer) that the Patrimony of that Church had

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been so wasted in these latter times, that neither the Bishop, nor the Dean and Chapter were able to contribute any thing proportionable to so vast a charge; She directed her Letters to the Lord Mayor and City of *London* to take care therein, as most concerned in the preservation of their Mother-Church, and in the honor of their City. In obedience to whose Royal pleasure, the citizens granted a Benevolence and three Fifteens to be speedily paid, besides the extraordinary bounty of particular persons, or was to be issued from the chamber. And that they might proceed therein with the greater zeal, the Queen sent in a thousand Marks in ready money, and warrants for one thousand load of timber to be served out of her Majesties woods. Encouraged by which brave example, the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* contributed towards the furtherance of the work, the fortieth part of their Benefices which stood charged with first fruits, and the thirtieth part of those which had paid the same. The Clergy of the Diocess of *London* bestowing the thirtieth part of such of their Livings as were under the burthen of that payment, and the twentieth part of those which were not. To which the Bishop added at several times the sum of 900 l. 1 s. 11 d. the Dean and Chapter 136 l. 13 s. 4 d. By which and some other little helps (the benevolence, the three fifteens, and the contributions of the Bishop and Clergy, with the aid aforesaid, amounting to no more than 6702 l. 13 s. 4 d.) the work was carried on so fast, that before the end of *April* 1566. the timber work of the roof was not only fitted, but compleatly covered. The raising of a new spire was taken also into consideration, but conceived unnecessary; but whether because it was too chargeable, or that some feared it might prove a temptation, is not yet determined.

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And now the season of the year invites the Popes *Nuncio* into *England*, advanced already in his way as far as *Flanders*, and there expecting the Queens pleasure touching his admittance; For the Pope always constant to his resolutions, could not be taken off from sending his *Nuncio* to the Queen, with whom he conceived himself to stand upon terms of amity. It had been much laboured by the *Guissards* and *Spanish* faction to divert him from it, by telling him that it would be an undervaluing of his power and person, to send a *Nuncio* into *England*, or to any other Princes of the same persuasions, who openly professed a separation from the See of *Rome*. To which he made this prudent and pious answer, that he would humble himself even to Heresie it self; in regard that whatsoever was done to gain souls to Christ, did beseem that See. And to this resolution he adher'd the rather, because he had been told and assured by *Karn* the old English Agent, that his *Nuncio* would be received by one half of the Kingdom with the Queens consent. But as it proved, they reckoned both without their Host and Hostess too, who desired not to give entertainment unto any such guests. For having designed the Abbot *Martiningo* to this employment, and the Abbot being advanced as far as *Flanders*, as before was said, he there received the Queens command not to cross the seas. Upon advertisement whereof, as well the King of *Spain* himself, as *Ferdinand* of *Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, (the most powerful Minister of that King) did earnestly intreat that he might be heard; commending the cause of his Legation, as visibly conducing to the union of all the Christian Church in a general Council. But the Queen persevered in her first intent, affirming she could not treat with the Bishop of *Rome*, whose authority was excluded out of *England* by consent of Parliament. Nor had the Popes *Nuncio* in *France* any better fortune in treating with *Throgmorton* the English Agent in that Court, to advance the business; who though he did solicit by his Letters both the Queen and the Council, to give some satisfaction in that point to the *French* and *Spaniards*, (though not unto the Pope himself) could get no other answer from them, but the same denial.

For so it was, that on the first noise of the *Nuncio*'s coming, the business had been taken into consideration at the Council Table, and strongly pleaded

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on both sides, as mens judgements varied. By some it was alleged in favour of the *Nuncio's* coming, that Pope *Pius* was nothing of so rugged a nature, as his Predecessor; that he had made a fair address unto the Queen by his last years Letters; that his designs did most apparently tend to the peace of Christendome; that the admitting of the *Nuncio* was a matter which signified nothing, it being still left in her Majesties power, whether she would embrace or reject his Overtures; but that the refusing to admit him to a publick audience, was the most ready way to disoblige all Catholick Princes, with whom she stood at that time in terms of amity. On the other side it was alleged, that King *Henry*, a most prudent Prince, had formerly protested against the calling of this Council by Pope *Paul* the 3d. who did as much pretend to the peace of Christendome, as the Pope now being; that to admit a Minister of the Pope, in the quality or capacity of a *Nuncio*, inferred a tacit acknowledgement of that supremacy, whereof he had been deprived by Act of Parliament; that the Popes of *Rome* have alwaies raised great advantages by the smallest concessions, and therefore that it was most expedient for the good of the Kingdom, to keep him alwaies at a distance; that Queen *Mary* in favour only unto *Pole*, refused to give admittance to Cardinal *Peirow*, though coming from the Pope in quality of a *Legate a Latere*; that a great part of the people were in discontentment with the change of Religion, and wanted nothing but such an opportunity to break out into action, as the *Nuncio's* presence might afford them; and therefore that it concerned the Queen to be as zealous for Religion and the weal of her people, as her sister the late Queen *Mary* was in maintenance of Cardinal *Pole* and his private authority. And to say truth, the greatest obstacle in the way of the *Nuncio's* coming, was partly laid in it by the indiscretion of some Papists in *England*, and partly by the precipitancy of the Popes Ministers in *Ireland*. For so it was, that the only noise of the coming of a *Nuncio* from the Pope, had wrought in sundry evil-disposed persons such a courage and boldness, that they did not only break the Laws made against the Pope and his authority, with great audacity, but spread abroad false and slanderous reports, that the Queen was at the point to change her Religion, and alter the government of the Realm. Some also had adventured further, even to a practising with the Devil by conjurations, charms, and casting of Figures, to be informed in the length and continuance of her majesties Reign. And on the other side, the Popes Legate being at the same time in *Ireland*, not only joyned himself to some desperate Traytors, who busied themselves in stirring up rebellion there, but for as much as in him was, had deprived her Majesty of all Right and Title to that Kingdom. Upon which grounds it was carried clearly by the Board against the *Nuncio*. Nor would they vary from the Vote upon the intercession of the *French*, the *Spaniard*, or (whose displeasure was more dangerous) of the Duke of *Alva*.

Nothing discouraged with the repulse which had been given to the *French* and *Spaniard*, the Emperour *Ferdinand* must make tryal of his fortune also, not as they did, in favour of the *Nuncio's* coming, but in perswading her to return to the old Religion. To this end he exhorts her by his Letters in a friendly way, not to relinquish the Communion of so many Catholick Kings and Princes, and her own Ancestors into the bargain; nor to prefer her single judgement, and the judgement of a few private persons, and those not the most learned neither, before the judgement and determination of the Church of Christ. That if she were resolved to persist in her own opinion, she should deal favourably with so many reverend and Religious Prelates as she kept in prison, and which he kept in prison for no other reason but for adhering unto that Religion which himself professed; and, finally he intreats most earnestly, that she would set apart some Churches to the use of the Catholicks, in which they might with freedome exercise their own Religion, according to the Rites and Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. To which desires she made a full and sufficient answer, by satisfying him touching her merciful dealing with those

those Bishops, whom for their obstinacy and many other weighty reasons, she had deprived of their preferments in the Church. And to the rest she answered, That she had felt her Religion on so sure a bottom, that she could not easily be changed; that she doubted not but that she had many learned men in her Dominions, which were able to defend the doctrine by them taught, against all Opponents; and that for granting any Churches to the use of the Papists, it was a point so contrary to the polity and good Lawes of the Land, that she desired to be excused for not yielding to it. In which last she seemed to have an eye upon the Edict of the Emperour *Constantine*, touching the meetings of the *Marcionites*, *Novatians*, *Valentinians*, and other Hereticks of that age; In which it was enjoined, that none of them should from thenceforth hold any assemblies, and that for the more certain conforming unto his Decree, those Churches or other houses whatsoever they were, in which they used to hold their Meetings, should be demolished to the ground, to the end that there might be no place in which such men as were devoted to their superstitious faction, might have the opportunity of assembling together. For which the Reader may consult *Eusebius* in the life of *Constantine*, lib. 3. cap. 63. But that it might appear both to him and others, that she was ready to shew all just favours, she laid a most severe command upon all her Officers, for the full payment of all such pensions, as had been granted unto all such Abbots, Monks and Friars, in the time of her father, as were not since preferred in the Church to cures or dignities. And this to be performed to the utmost farthing, on pain of her most high displeasure in neglect thereof.

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It could not be but that the governing of her affairs with such an even and steady hand, though it occasioned admiration in some, must needs create both envy and displeasure in the hearts of other Christian Princes, from none of which she had a juster cause to fear some practice, than the King of *Spain*, or rather from the fierce and intemperate spirit of the Duke of *Alva*, as appeared afterwards when he was made Lord Deputy, or Vice-Gerent of the Belgick Provinces. They had both shewed themselves offended, because their intercession in behalf of the *Nuncio* had found no better entertainment; and when great persons are displeased, it is no hard matter for them to revenge themselves, if they find their adversaries either weak or not well provided. But the Queen looked so well about her, as not to be taken tardy in either kind. For which end she augmented her store of Arms and Ammunition, and all things necessary for the defence of her Kingdom; which course she had happily begun in the year foregoing. But holding it a safer maxim in the Schools of Polity, not to admit, than to endeavour by strong hand to expel an enemy, She entertains some fortunate thoughts of walling her Kingdom round about with a puissant Navy, for Merchants had already increased their shipping, by managing some part of that wealthy trade which formerly had been monopolized by the *Hanse* or *Easterlings*. And she resolves not to be wanting to her self in building ships of such a burthen, and so fit for service, as might inable her in short time, not only to protect her Merchants, but command the Ocean. Of which the *Spaniard* found good proof to his great loss, and almost to his total ruine, in the last 20 years of her glorious government. And knowing right well that money was the sinew of war, she fell upon a prudent and present course to fill her coffers. Most of the monies in the Kingdom were of forein coynage, brought hither for the most part by the *Easterling* and *Flemish* Merchants. These she called in by Proclamation, dated the 15th. of *November* (being but two dayes before the end of this 3d. year) commanding them to be brought to her Majesties Mint, there to be coyned, and take the stamp of her Royal authority, or otherwise not to pass for current within this Realm, which counsel took such good effect, that monies came flowing into the Mint, insomuch that there was weekly brought into the Tower of *London*, for the space of half a year together, 8000. 10000. 12000. 16000. 20000. 22000 l. of silver plate, and as much more in *Pittols*, and other gold of *Spanish* coins, which were great sums according to the stand-

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ard of those early dayes, and therefore no small profit to be growing to her by the coynage of them.

The *Genevians* slept not all this while, but were as busily employed in practising upon the Church, as were the *Romanists* in plotting against the Queen. Nothing would satisfie them, but the nakedness and simplicity of the *Zwinglian* Churches, the new fashions taken up at *Franckfort*, and the Presbyteries of *Geneva*. According to the pattern which they saw in those mountains, the Church of *England* is to be modell'd; nor would the Temple of *Jerusalem* have served their turn, if a new Altar fashioned by that which they found at *Damascus*, might not have been erected in it. And they drove on so fast upon it, that in some places they had taken down the steps where the Altar stood, and brought the Holy Table into the midst of the Church; in others they had laid aside the ancient use of Godfathers and Godmothers in the administration of Baptism, and left the answering for the child to the charge of the father. The weekly Fasts, the time of Lent, and all other dayes of abstinence by the Church commanded, were looked upon as superstitious observations. No fast by them allowed of but occasional only, and then too of their own appointing. And the like course they took with the Festivals also, neglecting those which had been instituted by the Church, as humane inventions, not fit to be retained in a Church reformed. And finally, that they might wind in there outlandish Doctrines with such forein usages, they had procured some of the inferior Ordinaries to impose upon their several Parishes, certain new books of Sermons and Expositions of the Holy Scripture, which neither were required by the Queens Injunctions, nor by Act of Parliament. Some abuses also were discovered in the Regular Clergy, who served in Churches of peculiar or exempt jurisdiction. Amongst whom it began to grow too ordinary, to marry all such as came unto them, without Banns or Licence, and many times not only without the privacy, but against the expresse pleasure and command of their Parents. For which those Churches past by the name of *Lawlesse Churches* in the voice of the people.

For remedy whereof it was found necessary by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to have recourse unto the power which was given unto him by the Queens Commission, and by a clause or passage of the Act of Parliament for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, &c. As one of the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, he was authorized with the rest of his associates, according to the Statute made in that behalf, *To reform, redresse, order, correct and amend all such Errors, Heresies, Schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities whatsoever*, as might from time to time arise in the Church of *England*, and did require to be redressed and reformed to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of vertue, and conservation of the peace and unity of the Kingdom. And in the passage of the Act before remembred, it was especially provided, "That all such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, should be retained and be in use, as were in the Church of *England* by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the Reign of King *Edward* the 6th. until further Order should be therein taken by authority of the Queens Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners Appointed & Ordered under the Great Seal of *England* for Causes Ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realm. And also if there shall happen any contempt or irreverence to be used in the Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, by the misusing of the Orders of the said Book of Common Prayer; the Queens Majesty might by the like advice of the said Commissioners or Metropolitan, Ordain or publish such further Ceremonies or Rites, as should be most for the advance of Gods glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due reverence of Christs holy Mysteries and Sacraments.

Fortified and assured by which double power, the Archbishop by the Queens consent, and the advice of some of the Bishops, Commissioned and instructed to the same intent, sets forth a certain book of Orders to be diligently observed

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observed and executed by all and singular persons whom it might concern. In which it was provided, "That no Parson, Vicar or Curate of any exempt Church, (commonly called *Lawless Churches*) should from thenceforth attempt to conjoin, by solemnization of Matrimony, any not being of his or their Parish Church, without sufficient testimony of the Banns being ask'd in the several Churches where they dwell, or otherwise were sufficiently licenced. That there should be no other dayes observed for Holy dayes or Fasting dayes, as of duty and commandment, but only such Holy dayes as be expressed for Holy dayes in the Calendar lately set forth by the Queens authority; and none other Fasting dayes to be so commanded, but as the Lawes and Proclamations of the Queens Majesty should appoint; that it should not be lawful to any Ordinary, to assign or enjoin the Parishes to buy any Books of Sermons or Expositions in any sort, than is already, or shall be hereafter appointed by publick Authority; that neither the Curates, or Parents of the children which are brought to Baptism, should answer for them at the Font, but that the ancient use of Godfathers and Godmothers should be still retained; and finally, that in all such Churches in which the steps to the Altar were not taken down, the said steps should remain as before they did; that the Communion Table should be set in the said place where the steps then were, or had formerly stood; and that the Table of Gods Precepts should be fixed upon the wall over the said Communion Board. Which passage compared with that in the Advertisements, published in the year 1565. (of which more hereafter) make up this construction, that the Communion Table was to stand above the steps, and under the Commandments; and therefore all along the wall, on which the ten Commandments were appointed to be placed, which was directly where the Altar had stood before. Some other Innovations and disorders had been obruded on the Church at the same time also by those of the *Genevian* faction; for the suppressing whereof, before they should prescribe to any Antiquity, the like course was taken. But what those Innovations and disorders were, will easily be seen by the perusal of the *Orders* themselves, which were then published in Print by the Queens command; as a judicious Apothecary is able to conjecture by the Doctors *Recipe* at the distemper of the Patient, and the true quality of the disease.

Nothing else memorable in this year of a publick nature, but the foundation of the *Merchants-Taylors* School in *London*, first founded by the Master, Warden and Assistants of the Company of *Merchants-Taylors*, whence it had the name, and by them founded for a seminary to *St John's* in *Oxon*, built and endowed at the sole costs and charges of one of their Livery. The School kept in a fair large house in the Parish of *St Laurence Pontney*, heretofore called the *Mannor of Roose*, belonging to the Dukes of *Buckingham*; towards the purchase and accommodating whereof to the present use, five hundred pounds was given by one *Richard Hills*, who had been once Master of the Company, and still lives in the charity of so good a work. The day of the foundation is affirmed by *Stow* to have been the 21 of *March*, and so may either fall in the year 1560. or 1561. according to the several computations which are now in use; but howsoever within the compass of this third year of the Queen. And it is probable, that it may be fixed by him upon that day, either because the purchase of the House doth bear date upon it, or because it was then first opened for a Grammar School. And of this kind, but of a far more private nature, was the foundation of another Grammar School in the Town of *Sandwich*, built at the charge of Sir *Roger Manwood*, and indowed with 40 l. per annum, which was a very large allowance as the times then were.

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Great preparations had been made in the former year in order to the holding and continuance of the Council of *Trent*, many *Italian* Bishops (which were to be maintained at the Popes charge) being sent before, and the Popes Legats hastning after, to be there in readiness when the Ambassadors and Prelates of forein Nations should give attendance on the same; After long expectation it begins at the last on the 18th. of *January*, the Legats having first obtained in a privat Session, that nothing should be discussed in the Council but what should be first proposed by them; which in effect was to subvert the whole hopes of that Reformation, which was desired by many pious men amongst them. Which day being come, a Procession was made of the whole Clergy of the city, of the Divines & Prelates, (who besides the Cardinals were 112 that did wear *Miters*) accompanied by their families, and by many country people armed, going from *St. Peters* Church to the Cathedral, where the Cardinal of *Mantua* sung the Mass of the holy Ghost, and *Gasparo del Fosso* Archbishop of *Rheggio* made the Sermon; his subject was the Authority of the Church, Primacy of the Pope, and Power of Councils; He said, That the Church had as much authority as the Word of God, that the Church hath changed the Sabbath ordained by God, into Sunday, and taken away Circumcision, formerly commanded by Divine Majesty, and that these precepts are changed, not by the preaching of Christ, but by the authority of the Church. Turning himself unto the Fathers, he exhorted them to labour constantly against the Protestants, being assured, that as the Holy Ghost could not erre, so neither could they be deceived. And having sung the Hymn of *Come holy Ghost*, the Secretary, who was Bishop of *Tilese*, read the Bull of the Convocation, and the foresaid Archbishop propounded the Decree for opening the Council, saying, *Fathers, doth it please you that the General Council of Trent should be celebrated from this day, all suspension whatsoever being removed, to handle with due order that which shall seem fit to the Synod, the Legats and Presidents proposing, to remove the controversies of Religion, correct Manner, and reconcile the Peace of the Church?* To which they answered *Placet* with so full a vote, that there were found no more than four Bishops, and those four all *Spaniards*, who stumbled at the clause about discussing nothing in the time of that Council, but what the Legats should propose; so servile were the rest, in prostituting the Authority of the Council to the lust of the Pope.

In the first opening of the Council it was propounded by the Legates amongst other things, *Whether a safe conduct should be given unto those who were fallen into heresie, with a large promise of great and singular clemency, so that they would repent, and acknowledge the power of the Catholick Church.* In the discussing of which point, the Cardinal of *Mantua* was for the affirmative, seeing that it was a remedy used by all Princes, in Seditions or Rebellions, to pardon those whom they could not overcome, because by that means, those which were least faulty did retire, and the other did remain more weak. But as for the safe conduct, after it had been considered of and resolved at *Rome*, it was again disputed in the Council on the third of *March*, whether it was to be given by name to the *French, English, and Scots*, and some spake of the *Greeks* and other Nations of the *East*. It was presently seen, that these poor men, afflicted in servitude, could not without danger and assistance of many think of counsels; And some said, that there being a division of the Protestants, it was good to let them alone, and not to name them, alleging the danger of moving ill humors in a body which was then quiet. To give a safe conduct to the *English-men*, which neither they nor any of them did require, would be a great indignity; they were content it should be given to the *Scots*, because their Queen would demand it, but so, as that the demand should first be made.

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For France there was a doubt made, whether the Kings Council would take it ill or not, because it would be thought to be a declaration that that King had Rebels. Of Germany none would doubt, because it had been formerly granted unto them; and if it were granted to that Nation alone, it would seem that the others were abandoned. But at the last, all difficulties were resolved into this conclusion, that the safe conduct should be given unto those of Germany in the same words wherein it formerly had passed, *An. 1552.* & that the like conduct in the self-same words wherein it was given to the Germans, should be given to all of every Nation, Province, City and Place, where any thing was preached, taught, & believed, contrary to that which was believed in the Church of Rome.

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But the Legats might have spared themselves the trouble of these considerations, the Protestant Bishops of England not being so forward to venture themselves into that Council on such weak assurance, considering how ill the safe conduct had been formerly kept to *John Hus* and *Jerom of Prague* at the Council of *Constance*: And as for those of the Papal party, though they might have a good will to be gadding thither, yet the Queen kept them safe enough from going abroad. So that there was no hopes for any English Bishops of either party to attend that service; The Queen had absolutely refused to admit the *Nuncio*, when he was sent on purpose to invite them to it. And some of the most learned of that sacred Order had shown sufficient reasons in their printed *Manifest*, why no such service or attendance could be looked for from them. One *Scipio*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, who formerly had some acquaintance with Bishop *Jewel* when he was a student in *Padua*, had heard of *Martino's* ill success in his Negotiation, which notwithstanding, he resolved to spend some eloquence in labouring to obtain that point by his private Letters, which the *Nuncio* could not gain as a publick Minister; And to this end he writes his Letters of expostulation to his old friend Mr. *Jewel*, preferred not long before to the See of *Salisbury*, in which he seemed to admire exceedingly that England should send no Ambassador, nor Message, or Letter, to excuse their Nations absence from the general Appearance of Christianity in that Sacred Council; In the next place, he highly extolled the antiquity and use of *General Councils*, as the onely means to decide controversies in Religion, and compose the distractions in the Church, concluding it a superlative sin for any to decline the authority of it. But this Letter did not long remain unanswered, that learned Prelate was not so unskilled in the nature of *Councils*, as not to know how little of a *General Council* could be found at *Trent*; And therefore he returns an Answer to the Proposition, so eloquently penned, and so laborately digested, that neither *Scipio* himself, nor any other of that party, durst reply upon him; the Answer to be found at large in the end of the history of this Council, translated into English by Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, late Warden of *Merton College* in *Oxon*, &c. which though it were no other than the Answer of one single Prelate, and writ on a particular occasion to a private friend, yet since it speaks the sense of all the rest of the Bishops, and to justify the result of the Council-Table on the debate about accepting or refusing the Popes invitation, it will not be amiss to present the sum and substance of it in a short Epitome.

In the first place he signifies to the said *Scipio*, that a great part of the world professing the name of Christ (as *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Abyssines*, &c. with all the Eastern Church) were neither sent so nor summoned to this Council. Secondly, That England's absence was not so great a wonder, seeing many other Kingdoms and Free States (as *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Scotland*, Princes of *Germany*, and *Hanse-towns*) were not represented in this Council by any of their Ambassadors. Thirdly, That this pretended Council was not called according to the ancient custom of the Church, by the Imperial Authority, but by the Papal Usurpation. Fourthly, That *Trent* was a petty place, not of sufficient receipt for such multitudes as necessarily should repair to a *General Council*. Fifthly, That Pope *Pius* the 4th, by whose command the Council

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was re-assembled, purchased his place by the unjust practices of Simonie and Briberie, and managed it with murder and cruelty. Sixthly, That repairing to Councils was a free act, and none ought to be condemned of *Contumacy*, if it stood more with their conveniency to stay at home. Seventhly, That anciently it was accepted as a reasonable excuse of *holy Bishops*, absenting or withdrawing themselves from any Council, if they vehemently suspected ought would be acted therein prejudicial to the truth, lest their (though not *actual*) *included concurrence* might be interpreted a countenancing thereof. Eighthly, That our Bishops were employed in feeding their Flocks, and governing their Churches, and could not be spared from their charge without prejudice to their consciences. Ninthly, That the Members of that Council of *Trent*, both Bishops and Abbots, were by Oath pregedged to the Pope, *To defend and maintain his authority against all the world*. And lastly, He desired to know in what capacity the English Clergy should appear in this Council, not as free persons to debate matters therein, in regard they had been pre-condemned as Hereticks by Pope *Julius* the 3d. nor as *offenders* to receive the sentence of condemnation, to which they had no reason to submit themselves.

Of these refusals and the reasons of them, neither the Pope at *Rome*, nor the Cardinal Legats in the Council could pretend to be ignorant, yet still the expectation of the coming of some English Bishops must be kept on foot, partly for the encouragement of such as were there already, and partly for the drawing on of others who came slowly forwards, and sometimes also it was used for an artifice to divert the Prelates when any business was in agitation which seemed dangerous to them. For so it hapned, that some of the Prelates being earnest in the point of Residence, none of the Legats could devise a better expedient to put off that Question, than to propose that some means should be used to set at liberty the English Bishops which were imprisoned by their Queen, that coming to the Council it might be said, that that noble Nation was present also, and not wholly alienated from the Church. This pleased all, but the common opinion was, that it might sooner be desired than hoped for: They concluded, that the Queen having refused to receive a *Nuncio* expressly sent from the Pope, it could not be hoped that she would hearken to the Council; therefore all they could do was, to persuade the Catholick Princes to mediate for them: And mediate though they did, as before was said, both for the admitting of the *Nuncio*, and the restoring of those Bishops to their former liberty, they were not able to prevail, especially as to the licensing of any of them to attend the Council; which if the Queen had yielded to, she must have armed so many of her enemies to disturb her peace, who questionless would have practised with the Ambassadors of all Princes, and with the Prelates of all Nations whom they found there present, to work some notable alteration in the Government and affairs of *England*. Of all the Bishops which were left in *England* at the end of the Parliament, I find none but *Pates* of *Worcester* and *Goldnel* of *St. Asaph* who forsook the Kingdom, though possibly many of the rest might have done so also, if they had not either been well watched, or trusted upon their *Parol* to be forth-comming (as the phrase is) upon all occasions. And though I find the name of *Pates* subscribed to some of the former Sessions, yet it is not to be found to this, the man being of a moderate and gentle spirit, and possibly not willing to engage himself in any Counsels which might prove detrimental to his native country; And as for *Goldnel*, though his zeal to Popery was strong enough to carry him beyond the Seas, yet it did not carry him so far as *Trent*, there being so many retiring places nearer home in which he might repose himself with more contentment.

But leaving the Fathers in *Trent* to expect the coming of the holy Ghost in a cloak-bag from *Rome*, according to the common scorn which was put upon them, we must prepare our selves for *England*, first taking in our way the affairs of *France*, which now began to take up a great part of the thoughts

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thoughts of the Queen and her Council. The Reformed Religion had made some entrance in that kingdom during the Reign of king *Francis* the first, exceedingly dispersed and propagated in most parts thereof, notwithstanding the frequent Martyrdoms of particular persons, the great and terrible Massacres of whole Townships, Commonalties, and Churches, even by hundreds and thousands in divers places of the Realm. To which encrease, the sickle nature of the *French*, the diligence of their Preachers, and the near neighbourhood of *Geneva*, were of great advantage; all which advantages were much improved by the authority and reputation which *Calvin* carried in those Churches, and the contentment which the people took in a form of Government, wherein they were to have a share by the rules of their Discipline, and the by draw the managery of affairs unto themselves. Being grown numerous in the City of *Tours*, and not permitted to enjoy the liberty of assembling within the walls, they held their meetings, at a village not far off, for their publick Devotions; the way to which leading through the gate of *St. Hugo* is thought to have occasioned the name of *Hugonots*, which others think to have been given them by reason of their frequent nightly meetings, resembled by the *French* to the walking of a Night-spirit which they called *St. Hugh*; but from what ground soever it came, it grew in short time to be generally given as a by-name to those which professed the Reformed Religion, (whether in *France* or else-where) after *Calvin's* platform. Their numbers not diminished by so many butcheries, gave them the reputation of a party both stout and active, which rendered them the subject of some jealousy to the *Roman Catholics*, and specially to those of the House of *Guise*, who laboured nothing more than their extirpation. But this severity sorted to no other effect than to confirm them in their Doctrines, and attract many others to them, who disdained to see poor people drawn every day to the Stake to be burned, guilty of nothing but of zeal to worship God, and to save their own souls: To whom were joynd many others, who thinking the *Guiseards* to be the cause of all the disorders in the Kingdom, judged it an Heroick Act to deliver it from oppression, by taking the publick Administration out of their hands.

But nothing more encreased their party than the accession of almost all the Princes of the Blood of the House of *Burbon*, the Chiefs whereof were the Duke of *Vendosme*, (who called himself King of *Navarre* in right of his Wife) the Princes of *Conde*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, who finding themselves neglected by the Queen-Mother, and oppressed by the *Guiseards*, retired in no small discontentments from the Court, and being otherwise unable to make good their quarrels, offered themselves as Leaders of the *Hugonot-faction*, who very cheerfully submitted to their rule and conduct. The better to confirm their minds, they caused the principal Lawyers of *Germany* and *France*, and the most famous Protestant Divines, to publish in writing, that without violating the Majesty of the King, and the dignity of the lawful Magistrate, they might oppose with Arms the violent Domination of the House of *Guise*, who did not onely labour to suppress the true Religion, and obstruct the free passage of Justice, but seemed to keep the King in prison. Having thus formed their Party in the minority of King *Francis* the second, their first design was, that a great multitude should appear before the King without Arms, to demand, that the severity of the judgments might be mitigated, and liberty of conscience granted; intending that they should be followed by Gentlemen, who should make supplication against the Government of the *Guiseards*. But the purpose being made known to the Court, the King was removed from *Blois* an open Town to the strong Castle of *Ambuse*, as if he could not otherwise be safe from some present Treason: After which followed a strict inquiry after all those who had a hand in the design, the punishment of some, and the flight of others, with the conclusion taken up by the *Guisean* faction, to settle the *Spanish Inquisition* in the Realm of *France*. To pacifie the present troubles, an Edict is published by the King on the 18th. of *March* 1560. (in the *French*

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account) for the pardoning of all, who simply moved with the zeal of Religion, had engaged in the supposed conspiracy, upon condition that they disarmed within 24 hours; and after that another Edict, by which a general pardon was indulged to all *Reformists*, but so, that all assemblies under the colour of Religion were prohibited by it, and a charge laid upon the Bishops to take unto themselves the cognisance of all causes of Heresie in their several Dioceses. But this so little edified with those of that party, that greater tumults were occasioned by it, in *Provence*, *Languedock*, and *Poitou*. To which places the Ministers of *Geneva* were called, who most willingly came. By whose Sermons the number of Protestants so increased in those Provinces, and by their Agents in most others, that in this year 1562. they were distributed into two thousand one hundred and fifty Churches, as appeared upon a just computation of them.

But in the midst of these improvements, the power and reputation of the side was shrewdly weakened by the falling off of *Anthony Duke of Vendosme*, and King of *Navarr*, who did not only openly forsake the party, but afterwards joined himself in counsel and design against it with the Duke of *Guise*. The founding of so great a pillar, threatened a quick ruine to the fabrick, if some other buttresses were not found to support the same. The war was carried on from one place to another, but seemed to aim most at the reduction of *Normandy*, where the *Hugonots* had possessed themselves of some Towns and Castles, by which they might be able to distress the City of *Paris*, and thereby make a great impression on the rest of the Kingdom. It was thereupon advised by *Lewis Prince of Conde*, the Cardinal *Chastillon*, and other of the principal Leaders, that they should put themselves under the protection of the Queen of *England*, who had not long before so seasonably relieved the *Scots* in the like distress. No better counsel being offered, nor any hope of succour to be had elsewhere, the *Vidame of Charresse*, Governour at that time of the Port of *Newhaven*, together with the Bayliff of *Rowen*, the Seneschal of *Diep*, and others, made their address unto the Queen in the name of the Prince of *Conde*, and of all the rest of the Confederates, who professed the Gospel in that Kingdom; they profered to her the said Towns whereof they had charge, if it would please her Majesty to further their proceedings in defence of the Gospel (as they called it.) And seemed to justify their offer by a public acknowledgement, that her Majesty was not only true inheritour to those Towns, but also to the whole Kingdom of *France*. But neither their coming, nor their message was unknown unto her, who had been secretly advertised of all passages there by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, a vigilant and dexterous man, who being her Majesties Resident in that Kingdom, had driven the bargain before hand, and made all things in readines against their coming. Nor was the Queen hard to be intreated to appear in that cause which seemed so much to her advantage. She was not ignorant of the pretensions of the Queen of *Scots*, and the practices of her Uncles of the House of *Guise* to advance her interests. Who if they should possess themselves of all the strengths in the Dukedom of *Normandy*, might from thence find an easie passage into *England*, when she least looked for them.

On these and other considerations of the like importance, it was agreed upon between them, that the Queen should supply the Prince of *Conde* and his associates, with a sufficient quantity of money, corn, and ammunition, for the service of the French King, against the plots and practices of the House of *Guise*; that she should aid them with her forces both by land and sea, for the taking in of such Castles, Towns, and Ports, as were possessed by the faction of the said Duke; that the said Prince of *Conde* and his associates should not come to any terms of peace with the opposite party, without the privy and approbation of the Queen; and that as well for securing the payment of all such monies, as for the safe going in and out of all such forces as her Majesty should supply them with, the Town and Port of *Newhaven* should be put unto her

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her Majesties hands, to be garrison'd by English souldiers, and commanded by any person of quality, whom her Majesty should authorize to keep and defend the same. Immediately on which accord, a Manifest was published in the name of the Queen; in which it was declared, how much she had preferred the peace of Christendom before her own particular interests; that in pursuance of that general affection to the publick peace, she had relinquished her claim to the Town of Calais for the term of eight years, when as all other Princes were restored by that Treaty to their lost estates; that for the same reasons she had undertaken to preserve the *Scotts* from being made vassals to the *French*, without retaining any part of that Kingdom in her own possession after the service was performed; that with the like bowels of commiseration, she had observed how much the Queen-Mother of *France* was awed, and the young King himself intrahled by the *Guifian* faction, who in their names, and under pretence of their authority, endeavoured to root out the professors of the Reformed Religion; that in pursuance of that purpose, they had caused such terrible massacres to be made at *Vassy, Paris, Sens, Tholouse, Bloys, Towers, Angiers*, and other places, that there were thought to be butchered no fewer than one hundred thousand of the naturall *French*, between the first of *March* and the 20th. of *August* then last past; that with like violence and injustice, they had created such of her Majesties subjects as traded in the Ports of *Bretagne*, whom they caused to be apprehended, spoiled, and miserably imprisoned, such as endeavoured to preserve themselves to be cruelly killed, their goods and merchandise to be seized, without charging any other crime upon them, but that they were *Hugonots*; and finally, that in consideration of the Premises, her Majesty could do no less than use her best endeavors for rescuing the *French* King and his Mother, out of the power of that dangerous faction, for aiding such of the *French* subjects as preferred the service of their King, and the good of their Country, before all other respects whatsoever, for preserving the Reformed Religion from an universal destruction, and the maintaining of her own subjects and Dominions in peace and safety.

Nor did she only publish the aforesaid Manifest, the better to satisfy all those whom it might concern in the reasons of her taking arms upon this occasion, but she gives a more particular account of it to the King of *Spain*, whom she considered as the chief Patron of the *Guifian* League. And knowing how unsafe it was for her to appear alone in a cause of that nature and importance, she deals by *Knolls* and other of her Agents, with the Princes of *Germany*, to give their timely assistance to the Prince of *Conde*, in maintenance of that Religion which themselves professed. But howsoever, not expecting the success of those counsels, she proceeds to the supplying of the said Prince and his party, with all things necessary for the war, and sends over a sufficient strength of ships, arms, and men, as well to scour the seas, as secure the land. The men amounting to 6000, were divided into two equal parts, of which the one was destined to the defence of *Rowen* and *Diepe*, then being in the hands of the Confederates; the other to take possession of the Town of *Newhaven*, which by the Townsmea and Inhabitants was joyfully surrender'd into the hands of the *English*. The Town commodiously seated at the mouth of the *Seine*, and having the command of a spacious Bay, in former times not much observed or esteemed. But being more carefully considered of by King *Francis* the first, he caused the Bay to be enlarged, the passages into it cleared, and the entrances of it to be strongly fortified; which falling into the hands of any enemy, might have destroyed the trade of *Rowen* and *Paris*, being both built upon the River. Called for this reason *Franciseopolis*, by our Latine Writers, *Newhaven* by the English Merchant, and *Haver d' Grace* (by reason of the beauty of it) amongst the *French*, it hath been looked on ever since as a place of consequence. For her Commander in Chief, she sends over the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, the eldest son then living of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, whom on the 26th. of *December*, she had created Lord *Lisle*, and Earl of *Warwick*. And he

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accordingly preparing for his passage over, took shipping at *Portsmouth* on the 17th. of *October*, but was so hindered by cross winds, that he could not reach the Town till the 29th. where he was solemnly received with a peal of Ordinance. On the morrow after he received into the Town a Troop of Light-horse-men, all *Scotts*, and of the Regiment of Count *Montgomery*, which were sent to him from the Port of *Diep*; and the next day he took the Oath of his principal Officers, on whose fidelity and courage the safety of the place seemed most to depend. On the 4th. of *November*, a Bark belonging to the Town, brought in four Merchants Ships of *Bretagne*, fraughted for the most part with *Gascoin* Wines; as afterwards two more with the like commodity, which proved a great refreshment to the souldiers in it. And on the 6th. the *Reingrave* shewed himself upon the top of the hills with two thousand foot; betwixt whom and the garison souldiers of *Hareflew* on the one side, and those of *Newhaven* on the other, the remainder of the year was taken up in continual skirmishes.

Cross we next over into *Scotland*, that we may see in what condicpon our affairs stood there. The death of the late *French* King had made that Kingdom so uncomfortable to the Queen of *Scotts*, that she desired to hasten back into her own. And thereunto she was much animated by the Heads of either faction, but on different ends. Her presence earnestly solicited by the Popish party, in hope by her authority to suppress their opposites, and by the Protestants, on some strong presumptions, that they could deal better with her when they had her there, than when she was protected by the power of *France*, and governed by the counsels of the *Guiscan* faction. Before her leaving of that Kingdom, she had been pressed by *Chrogmorton* the English Resident, to ratifie the Pacification made at *Edenborough*, to which she would by no means yield, till she had advised with the nobility, and other of her subjects of the Realm of *Scotland*. This makes the Queen of *England* doubtful that she should be deserted by the *Scotts* of the Congregation, to whom she had done so many good offices in the time of their troubles. But having dealt with some of the chief amongst them, she found a resolution in them, for adhering to her, which so assured her on that side, that she feared but little danger from the Queen and her party, whensoever she came. Which notwithstanding, it was held to be the safer course to intercept her if they could in her passage thither. And to that end a Squadron of Ships was sent to sea, but under colour of suppressing some Pirates, by whom the trade of merchandise was given out to be hindered. But the taking of one of the *Scottish* Ships, with the Earl of *Eglinton*, and other passengers of that Nation were making homewards, declared sufficiently that they looked for a far richer prize. But for the Queen of *Scotts* her self, by reason of a thick fog which hung over the seas, she past by the *English* unperceived, and landed at the Port of *Leith* on the 20th. of *August*, Anno 1561. From thence she sends *Leithington* the younger, with Letters to the Queen of *England*, tending especially to expresse that great love and kindness which she bare to her, as to her dearest friend and Sister, and the desire she had to continue in true and sincere friendship with her. At what time she received letters also to the same effect from some of the Nobility of that Kingdom. In which they signified withall, That the surest way to continue amity and friendship betwixt them two, were to declare the Queen of *Scotts* to be her next and lawfull heir to the Kingdom of *England*.

But this demand, as it was unlooked for, so was it of too high a nature to be hastily answered. So that the Laird of *Leithington* could prevail no further at that time, than to gain a promise from the Queen, that she would do nothing to the prejudice of the Title of her Cousen of *Scotland*. The rest was left to be considered of in a personal conference, appointed to be held at *Tork* in the end of *June*. Which motion first proceeded from the Queen of *Scotts*, who was thought to have been earnest and real in it, partly for making a firm peace with her sister of *England*, and partly to make her self known to the principal Subjects

of that Country. Neither was the meeting disliked of the better sort, as thinking it would serve, besides the preservation of the common peace, to bring her to a liking of the Reformed Religion. But they who were popishly set, fearing greatly the conference, spake openly against it, saying, that of such interviews, there was never seen any good effect; and that it would not be safe for the Queen of *Scots* to put her self into the power of her, to whose Kingdom she had made a claim. But notwithstanding these unprofitable deliberations, the interview was agreed upon, and the numbers on either side determined, and all things provided for the journey, when suddenly the Queen of *England* by her Letters excused her self, desiring that it might be resped till the year next following. Which the *Scott* Queen was not sorry to hear upon further thoughts, considering how much the *French* King and her Uncles of the House of *Guisse*, might have been dissatisfied on the newes of that Inter-Parleance. Neither did Queen *Elizabeth* want her reasons to decline the meeting, which some believe was never really intended by her; but that she hoped the fail would have been on the other side, which would have given her the same cause of quarrel against the daughter, which King *Henry* took against the father, on the like disappointment. Others conceived, that she might fear a growing less by it in the eyes of her people, the Queen of *Scots* having so many advantages above her both in youth and beauty. But it was generally concluded to be against all reason of State, to give her Rival opportunity of growing gracious with the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, and laying the foundation of a faction in the Court it self.

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But the Queen had deeper matters to take up her thoughts than any such feminine jealousies and emulations, though these perhaps might also have their place amongst them. A spirit of sedition had begun to shew it self in the year last past, upon the bare noise of the coming of the *Nuncio* hither. Not much diminished (if it were not much increased) by the sitting of the Council of *Trent*, in which it was believed that some proceedings would be had against her. Which seeds being sown, began first to shew themselves in a petit rebellion, in *Merton* College in *Oxon*; sufficiently discovered by those small beginnings, that some design of greater consequence was in agitation. The Wardenship of that house being void by the death of *Gervase*, one *Man* is chosen to the place. But his election being questioned, and his admission thereupon opposed by a contrary faction, the government of the College devolved of course upon one *Hall* a Senior Fellow, sufficiently known to be of Popish inclinations, though for the saving of his place he had conformed as others did, to the present time. No sooner was he in this power, but he receives some old superstitious hymns, which formerly had been sung on several Festivals in the times of Popery, prohibiting the use of such as had been introduced by *Gervase* the late Warden there. This gave encouragement and opportunity to the Popish party, to insult over the rest, especially over all those of the younger sort, who had not been trained up in their Popish principles; so that it seemed a penal matter to be thought a Protestant. Notice whereof being given to Archbishop *Parker*, (the Ordinary Visitor of that College in the Right of his See) he summoneth *Hall* on the 20th. of *May* to appear before him, and caused the Citation to be fastned to the Gate of the College. But his authority in that case was so little regarded, that the seal of the Citation was torn off by some of that party. Hereupon followed a solemn visitation of the College by the said Archbishop. The result whereof was briefly this, that all were generally examined; *Man* confirmed Warden, *Hall* justly expelled, his party publicly admonished; the young scholars relieved, the Papists curbed and suppressed, and Protestants countenanced and encouraged in the whole University.

But this was only the Essay of those greater commotions which were to have ensued upon it; though withall it proved a prognostick of their ill success, which constantly attended the designs of the Romish faction. For presently on

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on the neck of this a far more dangerous conspiracy declared it self in some chief Leaders of that party; The present sitting of the Council, the practices of some forein Ministers, and the Queens countenancing the *French Hugonots*, then being in Arms against their King, might serve both as encouragements and exasperations to put that party upon dangerous and destructive projects: And it is possible enough that somewhat might be aimed at by them, in favour of the Title of the Queen of *Scots*, or of some other of the Race of King *Henry* the 7th. by *Margaret* his eldest daughter, married to *James* the 4th. of *Scotland*; which may the rather be supposed, because I find the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Lenox*, daughter of the said Queen *Margaret* by her second husband, and mother of *Henry* Lord *Darnley* (who was after married to Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*) to have been confined unto her House with the Earl her husband, upon suspicion of some practice against the Queen. Certain it is, that many strange whispers were abroad, and no small hopes conceived by those of the Popish faction for suppressing the Protestants in all parts of the Kingdom, and setting up their own Religion as in former times; a matter neither to be entertained without strong temptations, nor compassed without stronger forces, than they could raise amongst themselves, but by intelligence & supply from some forein Princes. On which account, amongst some others which were found to be of the Plot, *Arthur Pole*, granchild of *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury* by *Geoffrey* her third son, the younger brother unto *Reignald Pole* the late Cardinal Legat, was apprehended and arraigned, together with his brother *Geoffrey*, *Forbescue* who had married his sister, & divers others: The substance of their Charge (as it is generally in all Treasons) was, a design of levying war against the Queen, and otherwise entertaining many dangerous counsels against the peace and safety of her Dominions, with a particular intention of advancing the Queen of *Scots* to the Crown of *England*, and *Pole* himself unto the Title of Duke of *Clarence*. All which they confessed upon the Indictment, and did all receive the sentence of death; but were all afterwards pardoned by the Queens great clemency, out of that great respect which she carried to their Royal extraction.

And yet it may be possible that there was something in it of State-craft as well as clemency, which might induce the Queen to spare them from the stroke of the Ax, which was, to keep them for a ballance to the House of *Sussex*, of whom she now began to conceive some jealousies. The Lady *Katherine Gray* one of the younger daughters of *Henry* Duke of *Sussex*, and sister to the late Queen *Jane*, had been married to the Lord *Henry Herbert* son and heir to the Earl of *Pembroke*, at such time as the said Queen *Jane* was married to the Lord *Guilford Dudley* at *Durham*-House. But the old Earl seasonably apprehending how unsafe it was to marry into that Family which had given so much trouble to the Queen, took the advantage of the time, and found some means to procure a sentence of Divorce; almost upon the very instant of the Consummation. And knowing how well Queen *Mary* stood affected to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, he presently clapt up a marriage for his son with another *Katherine*, one of the daughters of that Earl, who dying about the beginning of the Reign of this Queen, he married him as speedily to *Mary Sidney* the daughter of Sir *Henry Sidney*, and of *Mary* his wife, one of the daughters of *John Dudley* the late Duke of *Northumberland*; in which last marriage he as much endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Sir *Robert Dudley*, who at that time began to grow Lord Paramount in all Court-favours, as by the first Match to insinuate into old Duke *Dudley*, who did then predominate. In the mean time the Lady *Katherine Gray* languisheth long under the disgrace of this rejection, none daring to make any particular addreses to her, for fear of being involved in the like calamities as had befallen her father and the rest of that Family. But at the last the young Earl of *Hereford* contracts himself privately unto her, and having consummated the marriage with her, gets leave to travail into *France*; But long he had not left the Kingdom when the Lady was found

to be with child, & being imprisoned in the Tower she makes known her marriage, till then kept secret by agreement; the Earl is thereupon called home, and standing honestly to the Marriage, for which he could produce no sufficient witness, is committed prisoner also. The Queen exceeding jealous of all Competitors, refers the cognizance of the cause to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and some other Delegates, by whom a certain time is set for the bringing in of Witnesses to prove the Marriage, and on default thereof, a sentence of unlawful copulation is pronounced against them; during which troubles and disquiets, the Lady is delivered of the Lord *Edward Seimer* her eldest son in the Tower of *London*, and conceived after of another by some stolen meetings which she had with the Earl her husband, their Keepers on both sides being corrupted to give way unto it. Which practice so incensed the Queen, that hurried on with jealousy, and transported with passion, she caused a fine of five thousand pounds to be set upon him in the Star-chamber, and kept him close prisoner for the space of nine years, at the end whereof he was restored to liberty by the death of the Lady, who died a prisoner in the Tower. And though the Lady *Francis* Dutches of *Suffolk* might hope to have preserved her self from the like Court-thunder-claps by her obscure marriage with *Adrian Stokes*, who had bin Gentleman of the Horse to the Duke her husband, yet neither could that save her from abiding a great part of the tempest, which fell so heavily upon her and all that family, that *William* the nephew of this Earl by *Edward Viscount Beauchamp* his eldest son, was prudently advised by some of his friends, to procure a confirmation of his grand-fathers honors from the hand of King *James*, which without much difficulty was obtained and granted by his Majesties Letters Patents, bearing date the 14th. of *May* in the 6th. year of his Reign. But such was the fortune of this House, that as this Earl, being newly restored unto the Title of *Heriford*, by the great goodness of the Queen, incurred her high displeasure, and was thereupon committed prisoner for his marriage with the Lady *Katherine Gray*, the onely heir then living of *Mary* the youngest daughter of King *Henry* the 7th. so *William* above mentioned being confirmed in the expectancy of his grand-fathers honors by the like goodness of King *James*, was committed prisoner by that King for marrying with the Lady *Arabella*, daughter and heir of *Charles* Earl of *Lennox*, descended from the eldest daughter of the said King *Henry*.

Such were the principal occurrences of this present year, relating to the joyned concernments of Church and State; In reference to the Church alone, nothing appears more memorable than the publishing of an elegant and acute Discourse, entituled, *The Apology of the Church of England*, first writ in Latin by the right reverend Bishop *Jewel*, translated presently into *English*, *French*, *Italian*, *Dutch*, and at last also into *Greek*, highly approved of by all pious and judicious men, stomached by none excepting our own *English* fugitives, and yet not undertook by any of them but by *Harding* only, who had his hands full enough before in bearing out an answer to the Bishops challenge: By him we are informed (if we may believe him) that two Treatises or Discourses had been writ against it, the one by an *Italian* in the Tongue of that Country, the other in *Larine* by a *Spanish* Bishop of the Realm of *Naples*; both finished, and both stopped as they went to the Press, out of a due regard, forsooth, to the Church of *England*, whose honour had been deeply touched, by being thought to have approved such a lying, unreasonable, slanderous, and ungodly Pamphlet; which were it true, the Church was more beholden to the modesty of those *Spaniards* and *Italians*, than to our own natural *English*. But whether it were true or not, or rather how untrue it is in all particulars, the exchange of writings on both sides doth most plainly manifest. In general it was objected, "That the *Apology* was published in the name of the Church of *England*, before any mean part of the Church were privy to it, as if the Author either were ashamed of it, or afraid to stand to it; that the Inscription of it neither was directed to Pope nor Emperor, nor to any Prince, nor to the

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"the Church, nor to the General Council then in being, as it should have been; that there was no mans name set to it; that it was printed without the privilege of the Prince, contrary to the Law in that behalf; that it was allowed neither by Parliament nor Proclamation, nor agreed upon by the Clergy in a publick and lawful Synod. and therefore that the Book was to be accounted a *famous Libel, and a scandalous Writing.*

To which it was answered in like Generals by that learned Prelate, "That the profession of the Doctrine contained in it was offered unto the whole Church of God, and so unto the Pope and the Council too, if they were any part or member of the Church; that if names be so necessary, he had the names of the whole Clergy of *England* to confirm that Doctrine, and *Harding* too amongst the rest in the time of King *Edward*; that for not having the Princes privilege, it might easily be disproved by the Printer; that it was not conceived in such a dark corner as was objected, being afterwards imprinted at *Paris* in Latine, and having since been translated into the *French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish* Tongues; that being sent afterwards into *France, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, Italy, Naples, and Rome* it self, it was rendered to the judgment of the whole Church of God; that it was read and seriously considered of in the convent of *Trent*, and great threats made that it should be answered, and the matter taken in hand by two notable learned Bishops, the one a *Spaniard*, and the other an *Italian*, though in fine neither of them did any thing in it; and finally, that certain of the English Papiists had been nibbling at it, but such as cared neither what they writ, nor was cared by others. And so much may suffice in general for this excellent Piece, to the publishing whereof, that learned Prelate was most encouraged by *Peter Martyr*, (as appears by *Martyr's* Letter of the 24th. of *August*) with whom he had spent the greatest part of his time when he lived in Exile: And happy had it been for the Church of *England* if he had never done worse offices to it, than by dealing with that reverend Bishop to so good a purpose. But *Martyr* onely lived to see the Book which he so much longed for, dying at *Zurich* on the 12th. day of *November* following, and laid into his grave by the Magistrates and People of that Town with a solemn Funeral.

Nothing remains for the concluding of this year, but to declare how the three vacant Bishopricks were disposed of, if those may say to be disposed of which were still kept vacant; *Glocester* was onely filled this year by the preferment of Mr. *Richard Cheney* Archdeacon of *Hereford*, and one of the Prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of St. *Peter* in *Westminster*, who received his Episcopall consecration on the 19th. of *April*. Together with the See of *Glocester*, he held that of *Bristol* in commendam, as did also *Bullingham* his Successor, that is to say, the Jurisdiction, with the Profits and Fees thereof, to be exercised and enjoyed by them, but the temporal Revenue of it to continue in the hands of some hungry Courtiers, who gnawed it to the very bone; in which condition it remained under the two Bishops, till the year 1589. when the Queen was pleased to bestow the remainders of it, together with the title of Bishop, on Doctor *Richard Flesher* Dean of *Peterborough*, whom afterwards she preferred to the See of *London*. And as for *Oxon*, it was kept vacant from the death of King, the first Bishop of it, who died on the 4th. of *December* 1557. till the 14th. of *October* 1567. at which time it was conferred on Dr. *Hugh Curwyn* Archbishop of *Dublin*, and Chancellor of the Realm of *Ireland*, who having held it but a year, it was again kept vacant twenty years together, and then bestowed on Dr. *John Underbil*, who was consecrated Bishop thereof in *December* 1589. but he dying also shortly after, viz. Anno 1592. it was once more kept void till the year 1603. and then took up by Dr. *John Bridges* Dean of *Salisbury*, rather to satisfie the desires of others than his own ambition. So that upon the point, this Church was filled but little more than three years in forty six, the Jurisdiction of it was in the mean time managed by some Officers

ficers thereunto authoris'd by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Patrimony and Revenues of it remaining in the hands of the Earl of *Leicester*, and after his decease of the Earl of *Essex*, by whom the Lands thereof were so spoiled and wasted, that they left nothing to the last Bishops but Improprations; by means of which havock and destruction, all the five Bishopricks erected by King *Henry* the 8th. were so impoverished and destroyed, that the new Bishops were necessitated to require the benevolence of their Clergy at their first coming to them, to furnish their Episcopal Houses, and to enable them to maintain some tolerable degree of Hospitality in their several Diocesses, of which we shall hear more hereafter from the pen of an Adversary.

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THE last years practices of the Papists, and the dangers thereby threatening both the Queen and State, occasioned her to call a Parliament on the 12th. of *January*, in which first passed an Act, *For assurance of the Queens Royal power over all Estates and Subjects within her Dominions*. In the body whereof it was provided, "That no man living or residing in the Queens Dominions, under the pains and penalties therein appointed, should from thenceforth, either by word or writing, or any other open deed, willingly and advisedly endeavour to maintain the Power and Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome*, heretofore claimed and usurped within this Realm. And for the better discovery of all such persons as might be popishly affected, it was enacted, "That none should be admitted unto holy Orders, or to any Degree "in either of the Universities, or to be Barrester or Bench in any of the Inns of Court, &c. or to practise as an Attorney, or otherwise to bear any Office in any of the Courts at *Westminster Hall*, or any other Court whatsoever, till he or they should first take the Oath of Supremacy on the holy Evangelists; With a Power given to every Archbishop and Bishop within this Realm and the Dominions of the same, to tender or minister the Oath as aforesaid, to all and every spiritual person in their proper Diocesses, as well "in places exempt as else where. Of which last clause the Reader is to take especial notice, because of the great controversy which ensued upon it, of which, more hereafter. And because many of the Popish party had lately busied themselves by Conjurations, and other Diabolical Arts, to enquire into the length or shortness of her Majesties life, and thereupon had caused some dark and doubtful prophecies to be spread abroad; There passed two other Statutes for suppressing the like dangerous practices, by which her Majesties person might be endangered, the people stirred to rebellion, or the peace otherwise disturbed. For which consult the Acts of Parliament, 5 Eliz. c. 15, 16. By which three Acts, and one more for the better executing of the *Writ de Excommunicato capiendo*, the Queen provided very well for her own security, but more provoked the Pope & his adherents to conspire against her in the time to come; against whose machinations, back'd by the power and counsels of foreign Princes, nothing was more conducible than her strength at Sea, for the encrease whereof, and the continual breeding of a Séminary of expert Mariners, an Act was made for adding *Wednesday* to the number of the weekly Fasts, which from thenceforth was called *Jeiunium Cecilianum*, as being one of the devices of Sir *William Cecil*.

In reference to Religion, and the advancement of the service and worship of God, it had been declared by the Bishops and Clergy assembled at the same time in their Convocation, *To be a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the customs of the Primitive Church, to have publick prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a Tongue not understood by the people*. To comply with which pious Declaration, and take off all retortion which possibly might be made by those of *Rome*, when they were charged with the administration of the Service and Sacraments in an unknown Tongue, it was enacted, "That the Bishops of *Hereford*, *St. Davids*, *Bangor*, *Landaff*, and *St. Asaph*, should

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“take care amongst them for translating the whole Bible with the Common-
“Prayer Book into the *Welsh* or *British* Tongue, on pain of forfeiting 40 l.
“a piece in default thereof. And to encourage them thereunto it was ordered,
“That one Book of either sort being so translated and imprinted, should be
“provided and bought of every Cathedral, or Parish Church, as also for all
“Parish Churches & Chapels of Ease where the said Tongue is commonly used;
“the Ministers to pay one half of the price, and the Parishioners the other.
The like care was also taken for translating the Books of Homilies; but whether it were done by any new order from the Queen, or the piety of the four Welch Bishops, or that they were considered as a necessary part of the publick Liturgy, by reason of the Rubrick at the end of the *Nicene* Creed, I have no where found.

As for the Convocation which accompanied the present Parliament, it began on the 13th. day of *January* in the Cathedral of *St. Paul*, the Latine Sermon preached by Mr. *William Day*, then Provost of *Eaton* College, afterwards Dean of *Windfor* also, and Bishop of *Winchester*; which being finished, the Bishop of *London* presents a list of the several Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, which had been cited to appear; the catalogue of the Bishops ending with *Gabriel Goodman* Dean of *Westminster*, that of the Deans beginning on another file with *Alexander Novel* Dean of *St. Pauls*, elected by the Clergy for their Prolocutor. The Convocation after this is adjourned to *Westminster* for the conveniency of the Prelates, by reason of their attendance on affairs of Parliament. *Goodman* the Dean of *Westminster* had made his Protestation in the Church of *St. Paul*, that by appearing as a Member of the Convocation by virtue of the Arch-bishops Mandat, he subjected not himself nor the Church of *Westminster* to the authority or jurisdiction of the See of *Canterbury*. And now on the Archbishops personal coming to the Church of *Westminster*, he delivers the like Protestation in writing for preserving the Liberties of the Church, in which it was declared, according to the privilege & just rights thereof, that no Archbishop or Bishop could exercise any Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in it, without leave of the Dean for the time then being; and therefore that he could not consent to the holding of a Convocation in that place, without some Declaration to be made by the Archbishops & Bishops, that their holding the Convocation in the same should not be taken or intended for any violation of the rights & privileges that belong'd unto it, which was accordingly perform'd.

It was on the 19th. day of *January* that these formalities were transacted, at what time the Archbishops and Bishops having first had some secret communication amongst themselves about the Articles of Religion established in King *Edward's* time, required the Prolocutor and six others of the Lower House of Convocation, to repair unto them; By whom it was signified unto their Lordships, that some of the Clergy had prepared certain Bills, containing a specification of such matters as were conceived to be amiss in the state of the Church, and that the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Reign of King *Edward* the 6th. had been delivered unto others to be considered of, corrected, and accommodated as they found it necessary. Being encouraged in the last, and furthered by the diligence of some of the Bishops who were employed in the same work, the Articles were agreed upon, publicly read before the Bishops in the Chapter-house of *St. Paul*, on the 29th. of the same month, and by all of them subscribed with great unanimity. The Prelates had observed some deviation from the Doctrine of King *Edward's* Reign, which had been made by the *Calvinian* or *Zuinglian* Gospellers, in the Articles of *Predestination*, *Grace*, *Free-will*, and *final perseverance*: Nor could they but take notice with how little reverence the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, and the Authority of the Church despised by too many of the same party also; which they were willing to impute to the want of some known rule amongst them, by which they were to regulate their judgments, and conform their actions: To which end it was thought expedient, that the Book of Articles

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ticles agreed upon in Convocation, Anno 1552. should be revised and accommodated to the use of the Church, the Queens leave being first obtained for their warrant in it. In the managing of which great business, I know not whether I should more admire their moderation, or their wisdom. Their wisdom eminent, in not suffering any Outlandish Divine who might drive on a different interests from that of the Church, either to vote amongst them, or carry any stroke in their consultations. Their moderation no less visible, in declining all unnecessary determinations, which rather tended to the multiplying of controversies, and ingendring strifes, than either unto edification or increase of piety. So that they seemed to have proceeded by those very Rules which King James so much approved of in the conference at Hampton Court, First in not separating further from the Church of Rome in points of Discipline or Doctrine, than that Church had separated from what he was in her purest times; Secondly, in not stuffing the Book of Articles with all Conclusions Theological, in which a latitude of judgement was to be allowed, as far as it might be consistent with peace and charity; and Thirdly, in not thrusting into it every opinion or *Position negative*, which might have made it somewhat like Mr. Craiges Confession in the Kirk of Scotland, who with his *I renounce, and I abhor, his detestations and abrenunciations*, did so amaze the simple people (as the King observeth) that not being able to conceive or understand all those points, utterly gave over all, and fell back to Popery, or else remained in their former ignorance. Upon which grounds, as they omitted many whole Articles, and qualified the expressions of some others in King Edwards book; so were they generally very sparing in defining any thing which was merely matter of modality, or *de modo only*: As namely, touching the manner of Christs presence in the Holy Eucharist, the manner of effecting grace by the blessed Sacraments, or of the operation of Gods grace in a mans conversion. Which rules being carefully observed by all the Bishops, on whose authority and consent, the greatest part of the whole Work did seem to rest, and all particulars agreed upon amongst themselves, it was no wonder if they passed their Votes without contradiction.

But in taking the subscriptions of the lower house, there appeared more difficulty. For though they all testified their consent unto them, on the said 29th. of January, either by words express, or by saying nothing to the contrary, which came all to one; yet when subscription was required, many of the Calvinians, or Zuinglian. Gospellers, possibly some also which inclined rather to their old Religion, and who found themselves unsatisfied in some particulars, had demurred upon it. With this demur their Lordships are acquainted by the Prolocutor, on the 5th. of February. By whom their Lordships were desired in the name of that House, that such who had not hitherto subscribed the Articles, might be ordered to subscribe in their own proper house, or in the presence of their Lordships. Which request being easily granted, drew on the subscription of some others, but so, that many still remained in their first unwillingness. An Order thereupon is made by their Lordships, on the 10th. then following, that the Prolocutor should return the names of all such persons who refused subscription, to the end that such further course might be taken with them, as to their Lordships should seem most fit. After which we hear no news of the like complaints and informations; which makes it probable (if not concluded) that they all subscribed. And being thus subscribed by all, they were soon after published both in English and Latine, with this following Title, that is to say, *Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562. for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and establishing consent touching true Religion.* But what they were, and wherein they agreed or differed with or from those established by King Edward the 6th. shall be referred (for the avoiding of all interruptions in the course of this History) to a place more proper. Nothing else brought to a conclusion by them,

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but the Bill of Subsidy, which having pass'd that House, was confirmed in Parliament.

Nothing else brought into conclusion, though many things were had in deliberation. On Friday the 5th. of February, the Bishops of *Salisbury, Exon, St David's* and *Lichfield*, were appointed by the rest of the Prelates, to examine a Catechism which it seems was presented to them. But being by them remitted to the consideration of the lower house, they were advertised by *Day* and *Sampson* on the 3d. of March, that the said house unanimously had approved thereof. And there it rested for that time, and for ever after, nothing being done in confirmation of it, as a publick Doctrine, (by whomsoever it was written) nor any further speech made of it in the time succeeding. Which fortune also hapned to a Book of *Discipline* projected amongst some of the Clergy, and tender'd to the Bishops by the Prolocutor, and ten others of that House, on the 26th. of February. To which some additionals being made by the first contrivers, it was a second time tender'd to them by the Prolocutor, in the name of the lower House of Convocation, by whom it had been generally and unanimously recommended to them. But the Bishops let this sleep also as they did the other. More was it to the profit of the Clergy generally, to make inquiry into certain Articles, which by the Archbishop, with the consent of all the rest of the Prelates, were delivered in writing. The Tenour of which Articles was, 1. "Whether if the Writ of *Melius inquirendum* be sent forth, there be any likelihood that it will return to the Queens profit? 2. Whether some Benefices ratably be not less than they be already valued? 3. That they enquire of the manner of dilapidations, and other spoliations that they can remember to have pass'd upon their Livings, and by whom. 4. To signify how they have been us'd for the levying of the arrerages of tithes and Subsidies, and for how many years past. 5. As also how many Benefices they find that are charged with pensions newly impos'd to discharge the pensions of Religious persons. 6. And lastly, to certify how many Benefices are vacant in every Diocese. But what return was made upon these enquiries, I find as little in the Acts of this Convocation, as either in allowance of the *Catechism*, or the Book of *Discipline*.

Religion and the State being thus fortified and secured in England, it will not be amiss to see what they do in Scotland; where the young Queen was graciously inclin'd to forget all injuries, and grant more liberty to her subjects, in the free exercising and enjoying of their own persuasions, than she could gain unto her self. For in a Parliament held in May, within few months after the end of that in England, the Act for oblivion, formerly condescended to in the Treaty at *Edenborough*, was confirmed and ratified; but without reference to that Treaty, the results whereof, the Queen by no means would acknowledge to be good and valid. And thereupon it was advis'd that the Lords should supplicate on their knees in the House of Parliament for the passing of it, which was accordingly performed by them, and vouchsafed by her. There also pass'd some other Acts of great advantage to the Church as affairs then stood; that is to say, one Act for the repairing and upholding of Parish Churches, and the Church-yards of the same, for burial of the dead. Another against letting Parsonages, Glebes, or Houses, into long Leases or Fee. But this came somewhat of the latest, a great part of the Tythes, Houses, and possessions which belonged to the Church, having been formerly aliened or demised for a very long term by the Popish Clergy, when they perceived they were not likely to enjoy them longer for themselves. But on the other side, no safety or protection could be found for her own Religion; no, not so much as in the Chapel-Royal, or the Regal City. In contempt whereof, a force was violently committed in the month of August, in the Chapel of the Palace of *Holy Rood House*, (the *Whitehall* of *Edenborough*) where certain of the Queens servants were assembled for their own devotions, the doors broke open, some of the company haled to the next prison, and the rest dispersed, the Priest escaping with

with much difficulty by a private passage. The Queen was then absent in the *Norih*, but questioned *Knox* at her return, as the cause of the uproar. By which expostulation she got nothing from that fiery spirit, but neglect and scorn.

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Return we back again to *France*, where we find some alternations of affairs between the *French King* and the *Reingrave* on the one side, the *English* and confederate Princes on the other, but so, that fortune seemed most favourable to the *English* party. The Church of *Hativil* (a neighbouring Village to *Newhaven*) taken and garrison'd by the *Reingrave*, but presently abandoned and repossessed by the *English*. The Castle of *Tankerville* cunningly taken by the *English*, and soon after regained by the *Reingrave*. The City and Castle of *Cane* held with a strong Garrison by the *Marquiss d'Elbrusse*, and besieged by the confederate forces, both *French* and *English*, and finally, surrender'd to the Admiral *Chastillon* to the use of the Princes, *March* the 2d. After which followed the surrendry of *Bayenlx*, *Faleise*, *St. Lods*, and divers other Towns and Castles. The Town of *Hareflew* on the *Seine* gallantly taken by the help of the *English* of *Newhaven*, on the 10th. and garrison'd by such soldiers and inhabitants as was sent from thence. Which fortunate successes so amazed the heads of the *Guifan* faction, that they agreed unto an Edict of pacification, by which the *French* Princes were restored to the Kings favor, the *Hugonots* to the free exercise of their own Religion, and all things settled for the present to their full contentment. But they must buy this happiness by betraying the *English* whom they had brought into the Country, and join their forces with the rest, to drive them out of *Newhaven*, if they would not yield it on demand. Of this the Queen had secret notice, and offereth by *Throgmorton*, to deliver up *Newhaven* in exchange for *Callis*. The *French* resolve to hold the one, and recover the other; so that new forces are sent over to make good the Town. The *French* draw toward it in great numbers, under the conduct of the Marshals of *Brissack* and *Mont Morency*; followed not long after by the Constable himself, with many other *French* Lords of the highest quality. The siege grows close, and the service very hot on both sides; but the *English* had a fiercer enemy within the Town, than any whom they found without. The pestilence had got in amongst them, and raged so terribly for the time, that the living were scarce able to bury the dead. And to compleat the miseries of the besieged, the Prince of *Cende*, and the Duke of *Montpensier*, shewed themselves openly amongst the rest in the Camp of the enemies, that the last act of the Tragedy might be plaied in their presence. All things conspiring thus against them, the *English* are necessitated to a capitulation, by which they left the Town behind them on the 29th. of *July*, but carried the plague with them into *England*. Which might by some be looked on as an argument of Gods displeasure on this Nation, for giving aid unto the Rebels of a Christian Prince, though masked with the vizard of Religion.

Pass we on further toward *Trent*, where we find the Fathers in high displeasure against Queen *Elizabeth*, exasperated by her aiding the *French Hugonots* against their King. But more for passing the Statute above mentioned, for punishing all those which countenanced and maintained the Popes authority within her dominions. The Pope hereby so much incensed, that he dispatched a Commission to the Fathers of *Trent*, to proceed to an excommunication of the Queen of *England*. The Emperour had his aims upon her, being at that time solicitous for effecting a marriage betwixt her and *Charles* of *Inspruck*, his second son; of which his Ministers entertained him with no doubtful hopes. In contemplation of which marriage, on the first notice which was given him of this secret purpose, he writ Letters both to the Pope and to the Legates, in which he signified unto them, that if the Council would not yield that fruit which was desired, that they might see an union of all Catholics to reform the Church; at least they should not give occasion to the Hereticks to unite themselves more, which certainly they would do, in case they

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they proceeded so against the Queen of England; by means whereof they would undoubtedly make a league against the Catholics, which must needs bring forth many great inconveniences. Nor did this Admonition coming from a person of so great authority, and built on such prudential reasons, want its good effect: Inasmuch that both the Pope desisted at Rome, and revoked the Commission sent before to the Legates in Trent.

But the Ministers of the King of Spain would not so give over, the Archbishop of *Otranto* in the Realm of *Naples*, keeping the game on foot when the rest had left it. And because he thought the proposition would not take, if it were made only in relation to the Queen of England, he proposed a general anathematizing of the Hereticks, as well dead as living, *Luther* and *Zwinglius*, and the rest; which he affirmed to be the practice of all Councils, in the Primitive times, and that otherwise it might be said that the Council had laboured all this while in vain. To which it was replied by one of the Legates, that divers times required different Counsels; that the differences about religion in those elder times, were between the Bishops and the Priests; that the people were but as an accessory; that the *Grandees* either did not meddle, or if they did adhere to any Heresie, they did not make themselves Heads and Leaders. But now all was quite contrary, for now the Hereticks Ministers and Preachers could not be said to be heads of the Sects, but the Princes rather, to whose interests their Ministers and Preachers did accommodate themselves; that he that would name the true Heads of Hereticks, must name the Queens of England and Navarre, the Prince of Conde, the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Elector of Saxony, and many other Dukes and Princes of Germany; that this would make them unite, and shew they were sensible of it; and that the condemnation of *Luther* and *Zwinglius* only, would so provoke them, that some great confusion would certainly arise; and therefore they must not do what they would, but what they could, seeing that the more moderate resolution was the better. After which grave and prudent Answer, it was not long before the conclusion of the Council (which ended on the 3d. of December) had put an end to all those practices or designs, which otherwise might have much distracted the peace of Christendom, and more particularly the tranquillity of the Realm of England. And so I take my leave of the Council of Trent, without making any other character or censure of it, than that which is given by the Historian, that is to say, "That being desired and procured by godly men to reunite the Church which then began to be divided, it so established the schism, and made the party so obstinate, that the discords are become irreconcilable; that being managed by Princes for the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Discipline, it caused the greatest deformation that ever was since Christianity began; that being hoped for by the Bishops to regain the Episcopal authority, usurped for the most part by the Pope, it made them lose it altogether, and brought them into a greater servitude; and on the contrary, that being feared and avoided by the See of Rome, as a potent means to moderate the exorbitant power of the Pope, it mounted from small beginnings, by divers degrees unto an unlimited excess, it hath so established and confirmed the same over that part which remaineth subject to it, that it never was so great, nor so soundly rooted."

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HAVING dispatched our business in France and Trent, we shall confine ourselves for so much of our Story as is to come to the Isles of Britain. In the fourth part thereof, the plague brought out of France by the Garrison soldiers of *Newhaven*, had so dispersed it self, and made such desolation in many parts of the Realm, that it swept away above 20000 in the City of London. Which though it seemed less than some great plagues which have hapned since, yet

yet was it the greatest at that time, which any man living could remember. In which regard as *Michaëmas* Term was not kept at all, so *Canalemas* Term then following was kept at *Hartford*, the houses in *London* being not well cleaned, nor the air sufficiently corrected for so great a concourse. Under pretence whereof, the Council of the King of *Spain* residing in *Brussels*, commanded Proclamation to be made in *Antwerp* and other places, that no English ship with cloths, should come into any parts of the Low Countries. Besides which, they alleged some other causes, as namely, the raising of Impost upon goods, as well inwards as outwards, as well upon English men as upon strangers, &c. But the true reason of it was, because a Statute had been passed in the first year of the Queen, by which divers Wares and Commodities were forbidden to be brought into this Realm out of *Flanders*, and other places, (being the Manufactures of those Countries) to the end that our own people might be set on work; as also that no English or stranger might ship out any white cloths undrest, being of price above 4*l.* without special licence. But at the earnest sute of the Merchant Adventurers, the Queen prohibited the transporting of Wool unwrought, and the Cloth-Fleet was sent to *Embsen*, the principal City in *East Friesland*, about Easter following, where it was joyfully received, and where the English kept their Factory for some years after. And though the *Hanse Towns* made such friends in the Court of the Emperour, that the English trade was interdicted under the pretence of being a Monopoly, yet by the constancy of the Queen, the courage of the Merchants, and the dexterity of their Agents, they prevailed at last, and caried on the trade themselves, without any Competitours.

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The apprehension of this dealing from the Council of *Spain*, induced the Queen to hearken the more willingly to a peace with *France*. Which she concluded upon terms of as good advantage as the times would bear, the demand for *Calais* being waved till the eight years end, at which it was to be restored unto her by the Treaty of *Cambray*. Which peace was first Proclaimed before her Majesty in the Castle of *Windsor*, the French Ambassador being present; and afterwards at *London* on the 13th. of *April*. And for creating the greater confidence and amity between both Princes, it was not long before she sent the Lord *Henry Hunston*, accompanied with the Lord *Strange*, and divers Knights and Gentlemen, to the Court of *France*, to present that King with the Collar and Habit of the Garter, into which Noble Order he had been elected at a General Chapter. Garter the King at Arms was also sent along with them to invest him in it, with all the Ceremonies and Solemnities thereunto belonging, to make it the more acceptable in the sight of that people. But notwithstanding these courses on the one side, and the indignities put upon her by the *Hugono*: Princes on the other, Reason of State prevailed with her not to lay aside the care of their safety and affairs. For well she knew, that if the *Hugonots* were not encouraged under hand, and the *Guisian* faction kept in breath by their frequent stirrings, they would be either hammering some design against her in her own Dominions, or animate the Queen of *Scots* to stand for her Title and pretensions for the Crown of *England*. Upon which general ground of self-preservation, as she first aided those of *Scotland* for the expelling of the *French*, and the French Protestants from being ruined and oppressed by the House of *Guisse*, so on the same, she afterwards undertook the Patronage of the *Belgick Netherlands*, against the tyranny and ambition of the Duke of *Alva*, who otherwise might have brought the war to her own dores, and hazarded the peace and safety of her whole Estate.

Having secured her self by this peace with *France*, and being at no open enmity with the King of *Spain*, she resolves to give her self some pleasure, and thereupon prepareth for her Summers progress. In the course whereof she bestowed a visit upon *Cambridge* on the 5th. of *August*, where she was honorably received by Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, being then Chancellor of that University; together with all the Heads of Houses, and other Students attired in their

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their Academical Habits, according to their several and distinct degrees. Her lodging was provided in *Kings College*, the dayes of her abode there, spent in Scholastical exercises of Philosophy, Physick, and Divinity; the nights in Comedies and Tragedies, and other pleasing entertainments. On *Wednesday* the 7th. of the same month, she rode through the Town, and took a view of all the Colleges and Halls; the goodly Monuments of the piety of her predecessors, and of so many men and women famous in their generations. Which done, she took her leave of *Cambridge* in a Latine Oration, in which she gave them great encouragement to pursue their studies, not without giving them some hopes, that if God spared her life and opportunity, she would erect some Monument amongst them of her love to Learning, which should not be inferior unto any of her Royal Ancestors. In which diversion she received such high contentment, that nothing could have seemed to be equal to it but the like at *Oxon*, where she was entertained about two years after for seven days together, with the same variety of Speeches, Enterludes, Disputations, and other Academical expressions of a publick joy. In one point, that of *Oxford* seemed to have the preheminance, all things being there both given and taken with so even an hand, that there could be no ground for any emulation, strife, or discord to ensue upon it. But in the midst of those contentments which she had at *Cambridge*, were sown the seeds of those divisions and combustions, with which the Church hath been continually distracted to this very day: For so it hapned, that Mr. *Thomas Preston* of *Kings College*, and Mr. *Thomas Cartwright* of *Trinity College*, were appointed for two of the Opponents in a Disputation; In which the first, by reason of his comely gesture, pleasing pronunciation, and graceful personage, was both liked and rewarded by her, the other receiving neither reward or commendation; Which so incensed the proud man, too much opinionated of himself and his own abilities, that he retired unto *Geneva*, where having thoroughly informed himself in all particulars, both of Doctrine and Discipline, wherein the Churches of that platform differed from the Church of *England*, he returned home with an intent to repair his credit, or rather to get himself a name, (as did *Erastronus* in the burning of *Diana's Temple*) by raising such a fire, such combustions in her, as never were to be extinguished (like the fire of *Taberah*) but by the immediate hand of Heaven.

The *Genevians* had already begun to blow the coals, and brought fewel to them, but it was onely for the burning of Caps and Rochets. The Common-Prayer book was so fortified by Act of Parliament, that there was no assailing of it without greater danger than they durst draw upon themselves. And as for the Episcopal Government, it was so interwoven and incorporated with the Laws of the land, so twitted in with the Prerogative of the Crown and the Regal Interests, that they must first be in a capacity of trampling on the Laws and the Crown together, before they could attempt the destruction of it. But Caps and Typpets, Rochets and Lawn sleeves, and Canonical Coats, seemed to be built upon no better foundation than superstitious custom, some old Popish Canon, or at the best some temporary Injunction of the Queens devising, which could not have the power and effect of Law. This Game they had in chase in King *Edward's* time, which now they are resolved to follow both with horn and hound, and hunt it to the very last: But as good *Huntsmen* as they were, they came off with loss, they that sped best in it, being torn by the briers and bushes, through which the fury of their passion carried them in pursuit of the sport: Amongst which, none sped worse than *Sampson*, because none had so much to lose in the prosecution; for resting obdurate in refusing to wear that habit which of right belonged unto his place, he was deprived of that place by the High Commissioners, to which the habit did belong. So eminent a Preferment as the Deanry of *Christ-church* deserved a man of abetter temper, and of a more exemplary conformity to the rules of the Church; Both which were found in Dr. *Thomas Godwin*, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, advanced unto this Deanry first, and after to the Bishoprick

shoprick of *Bath and Wells*; more fortunate in being father to Dr. *Francis Godwin* a late Bishop of *Hereford*, never to be forgotten for his Commentaries of the English Bishops, digested with such infinite pains, and no less ingenuity.

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The obstinacy of these men in matter of Ceremony, prompted the Bishops to make trial of their Orthodoxy in points of Doctrine. The Articles of Religion lately agreed upon in Convocation, had been subscribed by all the Clergy, who had voted to them, subscribed not onely for themselves, but in the name of all those in the several Diocesses and Cathedral Churches, whom they represented. But the Bishops not thinking that sufficient to secure the Church, required subscription of the rest in their several places, threatening no less than deprivation to such as wilfully refused, and obstinately persisted in that refusal. Many there were who bogled at it, as they all did, but did it not so perversely, nor in such great numbers as when their faction was grown strong and improved to multitudes. Some stumbled at it in regard of the first clause added to the 20th Article, about the Authority of the Church, others in reference to the 36th. touching the Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops; some thought they attributed more authority to the Supreme Magistrate, over all persons and causes both Ecclesiastical and Civil, than could consist with that Autocratic and Independency which *Calvin* arrogated unto his Prebyteries and other Churches of that platform: And others looked upon the *Homilies* as beggarly rudiments, scarce milk for Babes, but by no means to be served in for a stronger stomach. In general, thought by the *Genevians* and *Zuinglian* Gospellers to have too much in them of the Pope, or too little of *Calvin*, and therefore not to be subscribed by any who desired the reputation of keeping a good conscience with faith unfeigned. Of which number none so much remarkable as *father John Fox* the Martyrologist, who had before appeared in the Schism at *Frankfort*, and left that Church (when *Cox* had got the better init) to retire to *Geneva*; being now called on to subscribe, that the opinion which was had of his parts and piety might advance the service, he is said to have appeared before the Bishop (but whether before the Archbishop or his own Diocesan is not much material) with the New Testament in *Greek*, "To this (said he) I will subscribe, and if this will not serve, take my Prebend of *Salisbury*, the onely preferment which I hold in the Church of *England*, and much good may it do you."

This refractory answer (for it was no better) might well have moved the Bishop to proceed against him, as he did against some others who had stood on the same refusal; but kindness goes by kindness, as the saying is, and so much kindness was shewed to him, that he both kept his resolution and his place together; which whether it might not do more hurt to the Church, than that preferment in the Church did advantage him, I think no wise man will make a question; for commonly the exemption or indemnity of some few particulars, confirms the obstinacy of the rest, in hope of being privileged with the like indemnity. And therefore it was well observed by Bishop *Bancroft*, when King *James* proposed the writing of a Letter to the Bishop of *Chester*, for respiteing some Ministers of his Diocess from a present conformity, That if this purpose should proceed, the copy of those Letters would fly over the Kingdom, and then others would make the same request for some friends of theirs, and so no fruit would follow of the present Conference, but that all things would be worse than before they were. But Queen *Elizabeth* was not drawn so easily to the like indulgencies, for which she received her own just praises from the Pen of an Adversary, *Harding* by name, in his Epistle Dedicatory prefixed before his Answer to the Bishops *Apology*, commends her earnest zeal and travail, in bringing those disordered Ministers into some order of decent apparel, which yet some of them wanted reason to apply themselves to. And *Sanders* (who seldom speaks well of her) first informs his Reader, "What bickerings there were in *England* about the *Rochet*, and other Vestments of the Cler-

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“ by ; that many of the opposite party regarded not the Queens judgment in
“ it, but sent for counsel and advice to *Germany, France, Savoy, and Switzer-*
“ *land*, but specially to *Theodore Beza* and *Peter Martyr* ; but finally that not-
“ withstanding the advice of the one, and the addresses of the other, the Queen
“ proceeded vigorously to the deprivation of all such persons as wilfully op-
“ posed her order made in that behalf.

It seems by this that our *Genevians*, for the greater countenancing of their
inconformity, had stirred up the most eminent Divines of the *Gallick* and
Helvetian Churches to declare in favour of their doings ; And it appears also,
by remembrances in some Authors, that *Calvin* apprehending some neglect
from Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, in making either no return, or a return which sig-
nified nothing, to his first addresses, had laid aside his care of the Church of
England, for which he could expect no thanks from the Bishops, or had received
so little from the great men of the Court. But *Peter Martyr* while he lived,
conceived himself to have some interests in this Church, in which he had en-
joyed such a good preferment, but more in some particular persons and
members of it, who seemed to depend upon his judgment, and to ask counsel
of him as their surest Oracle : In which, how much he countenanced that
faction in King *Edward's* time, both by his practice and his pen, and what en-
couragement he gave them in this present Reign, hath been shewn before ;
how much out-gone by *Theodore Beza*, who next usurped a super-intendency
over all the Churches of this Island, may be seen hereafter: All that shall now
be said of either of them, or of all together, shall be briefly this, that this poor
Church might better have counted their best helps in points of Doctrine, than
have been troubled with their intermedlings in matter of Discipline. More
modestly then so dealt *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, two Divines of *Switzerland*, as
eminent in all points of learning as the best amongst them ; who being solli-
cited by some zealous brethren to signify their judgment in the present
controversie, about the Apparel of the Clergy, return an approbation of it,
but send the same inclosed in several Letters to *Sandys, Horn, and Gryndal*,
that they might see that neither of them would engage in the affairs of this
Church, without the privy of the Governors and Rulers of it.

To bring this quarrel to an end, or otherwise to render all opponents the
more inexcusable, the Queen thought fit to make a further signification of
her Royall pleasure, not grounded onely on the Sovereign Power and Prero-
gative Royal, by which she published her *Injunctions* in the first year of her
Reign, but legally declared by her Commissioners for causes Ecclesiastical, ac-
cording to the Acts and Statutes made in that behalf ; for then it was to be
presumed, that such as had denied obedience to her sole commands, would
at least give it to the Laws. The Archbishop is thereupon required to consult
together with such Bishops and Commissioners as were next at hand, upon the
making of such Rules and Orders as they thought necessary for the peace of the
Church, with reference to the present condition and estate thereof : Which
being accordingly performed, presented to the Queen, and by her approved,
the said Rules and Orders were set forth and published in a certain book, en-
titled, *Advertisements, partly for due order in the publick Administration of the*
Common-Prayers, and using the holy Sacraments; and partly for the Apparel of all
persons Ecclesiastical, by vertue of the Queens Majesties Letters commanding the
same, the 15th. day of January, &c. And that they might be known to have
the Stamp of Royal Authority, a Preface was prefixed before them, in which
it was expressed, “ That the Queen had called to her remembrance how ne-
“ cessary it was for the advancement of God's glory, &c. for all her loving
“ Subjects of the State Ecclesiastical, not onely to be knit together in the
“ bonds of Uniformity touching the ministraton of Gods Word and Sacra-
“ ments, but also to be of one decent behaviour of outward aparel, that by
“ their distinct habits they might be known to be of that holy vocation,
“ whereby the greater reverence might be given unto them in their several
“ Offices,

“ Offices, that thereupon she had required the Metropolitan, by her special Letters, that upon conference had with such other Bishops as were authorised by her Commission for causes Ecclesiastical, some order might be took, whereby all diversities and varieties in the premises might be taken away; And finally, that in obedience unto her commands, the said Metropolitan and the rest there named had agreed upon the Rules and Orders ensuing, which were by her thought meet to be used and followed.

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Now in these Articles or *Advertisements*, it was particularly enjoined amongst other things, “ That all Archbishops and Bishops should continue their accustomed Apparel; that all Deans of Cathedral Churches, Masters of Colleges, all Archdeacons, and other dignitaries in Cathedral Churches, Doctors, Bachelors of Divinity, and Law, having any Ecclesiastical Living, should wear in their common apparel abroad a side Gown with sleeves straight at the hand, without any cuts in the same, and that also without any falling cape, and to wear tippers of farset, as was lawful for them by Act of Parliament, 24 Hen. 8. That all Doctors of Physick or any other faculty, having any Living Ecclesiastical, or any other that may dispense by the Church too Marks, be to be esteemed by the fruits or rents of their Promotions; or all Prebendaries, whose promotions are valued at 20 l. and upward, to wear the like habit; that they, or all Ecclesiastical persons, or other having any Ecclesiastical Living, do wear the cap appointed by the Injunctions, and no hats, but in their journeyings; that they in their journeys do wear the cloaks with sleeves put on, and like in fashion to their Gowns, without gards, welts, or cuts; that in their private houses or studies they use their own liberty of comely apparel; that all inferior Ecclesiastical persons shall wear long gowns of the fashion aforesaid, and caps as before is described; that all poor Parsons, Vicars, and Curats, do endeavour themselves to conform their apparel in like sort, so soon and as conveniently as their abilities will serve for the same; provided, that their ability be judged by the Bishop of the Diocese; and if their ability will not suffer them to buy them long gowns, of the form aforesaid prescribed, that then they shall wear their short gowns, as before expressed; that all such persons as have been, or be Ecclesiastical, and serve not the Ministry, or have not accepted, or shall refuse to accept, the Oath of obedience to the Queens Majesty, do from henceforth wear none of the said apparel, but to go as meer lay-men, till they be reconciled to obedience; and who shall obstinately refuse to do the same, be presented by the Ordinary to the Commissioners for causes Ecclesiastical, and by them to be reformed accordingly. But this belongs more properly to the year next following.

To return therefore where we left, the next considerable action which followed on the Queens reception at Cambridge, but more considerable in the consequences than in the act it self, was the preferring of Sir Robert Dudley, the second son then living to the Duke of Northumberland, to the Titles of Lord Denbigh and Earl of Leicester, which honour she conferred on him on Michaelmas day, with all the Poms and ceremonies thereunto accustomed; She had before elected him into the Order of the Garter, made him the Master of her Horse, and Chancellor of the University of Oxon, suffered him to carry a great sway in all affairs both of Court and Council, and given unto him the fair Mannor of Denbigh, being conceived to be one of the goodliest Territories in England, as having more Gentlemen of quality which owes sure and service thereunto, than any other whatsoever in the hands of a subject: And now she adds unto these honors the goodly Castle and Mannor of Kenelworth, part of the patrimony and possession of the Dutchy of Lancaster. Advanced unto which height, he ingrossed unto himself the disposings of all Offices in Court and State, and of all preferments in the Church, proving in fine so unappeasable in his malice, and unsatiable in his lufts, so sacrilegious in his rapines, so false in promises, and trecherous in point of trust, and finally so

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detructive of the rights and properties of particular persons, that his *little finger* lay far heavier on the English subjects, than the *loins* of all the Favorites of the two last Kings. And that his monstrous vices (most insupportable in any other than himself) might either be connived at, or not complained of, he cloaks them with a seeming zeal to the true Religion, and made himself the head of the *Puritan* faction, who spared no pains in setting forth his praises upon all occasions, making themselves the *Trompans* to this, *Bragadocio*; Nor was he wanting to caresse them after such a manner, as he found most agreeable to those holy hypocrites, using no other language in his speech and letters than pure-scripture phrase, in which he was become as dextrous, as if he had received the same inspirations with the sacred Pen-men. Of whom I had not spoke so much, but that he seemed to have been born for the destruction of the Church of England, as may appear further in the prosecution of the *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* History, whensoever any able Pen shall be exercised in it.

But leaving this *Court-Meteor* to be gazed on by unknowing men, let us attend the Obsequies of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, who died on the of in the year now being, leaving the Empire and the rest of his Dominions to *Maximilian* his eldest son, whom he had before made King of the *Romans*. A Prince he was who had deserved exceeding well of the Queen of England, and she resolved not to be wanting to the due acknowledgment of so great a merit; the after-noon of the second day of *October*, and the fore-noon of the third, are set apart by her command, for this great solemnity, for which there was erected in the upper part of the Quire of the said Church a goodly Herse, richly garnished and set forth, all the Quire being hanged with black cloth, adorned with rich Scutcheons of his Arms of sundry sorts: At the solemnization of which Funeral there were twelve Mourners, and one that presented the Queens person, which was the Marquis of *Winchester* Lord Treasurer of England, the other twelve being two Earls, six Lords, and four Knights; the sacred part thereof performed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, assisted by the Bishops of *London* and *Rocheſter*, the funeral Sermon being preached by the Bishop of *London*, which tended much unto the praise and commendation of that famous Emperor. By which solemnity, as he did no small honor to the dead, so she gave great contentment to the living also, the people being generally much delighted with such glorious pomps, and the Church of England thereby held in estimation with all foreign Princes.

Nothing else memorable in this year but the coming out of certain books, and the death of *Calvin*. *Dorman*, an English fugitive, first publisheth a book for proof of certain of the Articles denied in Bishop *Jewel's* challenge; encountered first by *Alexander Nowel* Dean of the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, who first appeared in print against those of *Lovain*, and is replied upon by *Dorman*, in a book, entituled, *A Discovery of Mr. Nowel's untruths*, not published till the year next following. But of more consequence to this Church was the death of *Calvin*, by whose authority so much disorder and confusion was to be brought upon it in the times succeeding; a name much revered, not onely by those of his own party and persuasions, but by many grave and moderate men, who did not look at first into the dangers which ensued upon it. His platform at *Geneva* made the onely pattern, by which all reformed Churches were to frame their Government; his Writings made the onely rule, by which all Students in Divinity were to square their Judgments. What *Peter Lombart* was esteemed to be in the Schools of *Rome*, the same was *Calvin* reckoned in all those Churches, which were reformed according to the *Zwinglian* doctrine in the point of the Sacrament. But, *Hic Magister non senescit*, as the saying was, he was not so esteemed in England, nor was there any reason why it should be so; for though some zealous brethren of the *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* faction appeared exceeding ambitious to wear his Livery, and thought no name so honorable as that of *Calvinist*, yet the sounder members of

of the Church, the Royal and Prelatical Divines, as the others called them, conceived otherwise of him : And the right learned *Adrian Saravia*, though by birth a *Dutch-man*, yet being once preterred in the Church of *England*, he stomached nothing more than to be called *Calvinian*.

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WE shall begin this year with the concernments of the Kirk of *Scotland*, where Queen *Elizabeth* kept a Stock still going, the Returns whereof redounded more to her own security, than to the profit and advantage of the Church of *England*. The Queen of *Scots* was young, possessed of that Kingdom, and next Heir to this; first married to the Daulphin of *France*, and sued to after his decease in behalf of *Charles*, the younger son of the Emperor *Maximilian*, as also of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*. But Queen *Elizabeth* had found so much trouble and danger from her first alliance with the *French*, that she was against all Marriages which might breed the like, or any way advance the power of that Competitor: But on the contrary, she commended to her the Earl of *Leicester*, whom she pretended to have raised to those eminent honors, to make him in some sort capable of a Queens affection. Which proposition proved agreeable to neither party, the Queen of *Scots* disdaining that unequal offer, and *Leicester* dealing underhand with *Randolph* the English Resident, to keep her still in that averseness. He had foolishly given himself some hopes of marrying with *Elizabeth* his own dread Mistress, interpreting all her favours to him to proceed from affection, and was not willing that any Proposition for that purpose with the Queen of *Scots* should be entertained. During these various thoughts on both sides, the English began to be divided in opinion concerning the next heir to the Crown Imperial of this Realm; One *Hales* had writ a discourse in favour of the House of *Suffolk*, but more particularly in defence of the late marriage between the Earl of *Hersford* and the Lady *Katherine*, for which he was apprehended and committed prisoner. The Romish party were at the same time sub-divided, some standing for the Queen of *Scots* as the next heir apparent, though an alien born; others for *Henry* Lord *Darnley*, eldest son to the Earl of *Lenox*, born in the Realm, and lineally descended from the eldest daughter of King *Henry* the 7th. from whom the Queen of *Scots* also did derive her claim.

The Queen of *Scots* also at the same time, grown jealous of the practices of the Lord *James* her bastard-brother, whom she had not long before made Earl of *Murray*; and being over-powered by those of the Congregation, was at some loss within her self for finding a fit person, upon whose integrity she might depend in point of counsel, and on whose power she might rely in point of safety: After a long deliberation, nothing seemed more conducible to her ends and purposes than the recalling of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* to his native Country, from whence he had been forced by the *Hamiltonians* in the time of King *Henry*. Being of great power in the West of *Scotland*, from the Kings whereof he was extracted, *Henry* conceived that some good use might be made of him for advancing the so much desired marriage between his onely son Prince *Edward* and the Infant-Queen: The more to gain him to his side, he bestowes upon him in marriage the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, daughter of Queen *Margaret* his eldest sister, by *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus* her second husband; of which marriage were born *Henry* Lord *Darnley* (of whom more anon) and *Charles* the second son (whom King *James* created Earl of *Lenox*) father of *Arabella*, before remembered. And that they might support themselves in the nobler equipage, he bestowes upon him also the Mannor of *Setrington*, with other good Lands adjoining, in the County of *York*, passing since by the name of *Lenox* his Lands in the style of the people. In *England* he remained above twenty years, but kept himself constant in all changes to the

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the Church of *Rome*, which made him the more estimable both with his own Queen, and the English Papists. Being returned into his Country, he found that Queen so gracious to him, and such a handsome correspondence with the chief Nobility, that he sends for his two sons to come thither to him, but leaves his wife behind in the Court of *England*, lest otherwise Queen *Elizabeth* might take some umbrage or displeasure at it, if they should all remove at once.

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It was about the middle of *February* that the Lord *Darnly* came to the Court of *Scotland*. Who being not full twenty years old, of lovely person, sweet behaviour, and a most ingenuous disposition, exceedingly prevailed in short time on the Queens affections. She had now met with such a man as might please her fancy, and more secure her title to the Crown of *England*, than any of the great Kings in *Europe*. What then should hinder her from making up a marriage so agreeable to her, so acceptable to the Catholick party in both Kingdoms; and which she thought withall of so safe a condition, as could create no new jealousies in the breast of *Elizabeth*? But those of the *Leicesterian* faction conceived otherwise of it, and had drawn most of the Court and Council to conceive so to. For what could more secure the interests of the Queen of *Scots*, than to corroborate her own Title with that of *Darnly*? from which two, what children soever should proceed, they would draw to them many hearts in the Realm of *England*, who now stood fair and faithful to their natural Queen. In this great fear (but made much greater of set purpose to create some trouble) it was advised that the Queen should earnestly be intreated to think of marriage, to the end, that the succession might be settled in her own posterity; that all Popish Justices (whereof there were many at that time) might be put out of Commission, and none admitted to that office, but such as were sincerely affected to the Reformed Religion; that the old deprived Bishops, which for the most part lived at liberty, might be brought to a more close restraint, for fear of hardning some in their errors, and corrupting others with whom they had the freedom of conversation; that a greater power might be conferred upon the English Bishops, in the free exercise of their jurisdiction, for suppressing all such Popish Books as were sent into *England*, depriving the English Fugitives of all those Benefices in this Kingdom, which hitherto they had retained; and all this to be done without incurring the danger of a *Premunire*, with which they were so often threatened by the common Lawyers. It was advised also, that for a counterpoise unto the Title of the Queen of *Scots*, some countenance should be given to the House of *Suffolk*, by shewing favour to the Earl of *Warford* and the Lady *Katherine*; and that to keep the ballance even with the Romish Catholics, some moderation should be used to such Protestant Ministers, (you may be sure the Earl of *Leicester* had a hand in this) as hitherto had been opposite in external matters, to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, here by Law established.

Nor was this marriage very pleasing to the *Scots* themselves; the chief Lords of the Romish party, who faithfully had adher'd to their natural Queen in all her former troubles, conceived that some of them might be as capable of the Queens affections, as a young Gentleman born in *England*, and one that never had done any service which might enoble and prefer him before all the rest. The Ministers exclaimed against it in their common preachings, as if it were designed of purpose to destroy Religion, and bring them under their old vassalage to the Church of *Rome*. The Noble men and others of the Congregation, who had sold themselves to Queen *Elizabeth*, were governed wholly by her Counsels, and put themselves into a posture of Arms to disturb the Match, the *Edenburghers* do the like, but are quickly scatter'd, and forc'd to submit themselves to their Queens good pleasure, who was so bent upon her marriage with this young Nobleman, that neither threatnings nor persuasions could divert her from it. And that he might appear in some capacity fit for the

the marriage of a Queen, she first confers upon him the Order of Knighthood, and afterwards creates him Baron of *Ardamanack*, Earl of *Rosse*, and Duke of *Rocheby*, which are the ordinary Titles of the eldest and second sons of *Scotland*. In *May* she had convened the Estates of *Scotland*, to whom she communicated her intention, with the reasons of it. Which by the greatest part of the Assembly seemed to be allowed of, none but the Lord *Ochiltree* opposing what the rest approved. About the middle of *July*, the marriage Rites were celebrated in the Royal Chapel by the Dean of *Restarig*, and the next day the new Duke was proclaimed King by sound of Trumpet, and declared to be associated with the Queen in the publick government. The newes whereof being brought unto Queen *Elizabeth*, she seemed more offended than indeed she was. For well she knew, that both the new King, and the Earl his Father, were men of plain and open natures, not apt to entertain any dangerous counsels to the disturbance of her quiet; that as long as she retained the Countesse with her (who was the Mother of the one, and the Wife of the other) they seemed to stand bound to their good behaviour, and durst act nothing to the prejudice of so dear a pledge; but by the precipitation of this marriage, the Queen of *Scots* had neither fortified her self in the love of her people, nor in alliances abroad; and that it could not otherwise be, but some new troubles must break out in *Scotland* upon this occasion, by which it would be made uncomfortable and inglorious to her. And so it proved in the event, for never was marriage more calamitous to the parties themselves, or more dishonourable to that Nation, or finally more scandalous to both Religions; in nothing fortunate but in the birth of *James* the 6th. born in the Palace of *Edenborough* on the 19th. of *July*, Anno 1566. solemnly Crowned King of the *Scots* on the same day of the Month, Anno 1567. and joyfully received to the Crown of *England*, on the 14th. of *March*, Anno 1602.

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In greater glory and felicity reigned the Queen of *England*. Whose praise resounding in all Kingdoms of the North and West, invited *Cecilie*, sister to the King of *Sweden*, and wife of *Christopher*, Marquise of *Baden*, to undertake a tedious journey both by land and sea, from the furthest places of the North, to see the splendor of her Court, and observe the prudence of her Government. Landing at *Dover* in the beginning of *September*, they were there received by the Lord *Cobham*, with a goodly train of Knights and Gentlemen; at *Canterbury* by the Lady *Cobham*, with the like honourable train of Ladies and Gentlewomen; at *Gravesend* by the Lord *Hunsdon*, with the band of Pensioners; at *London* on the 11th. of *September* by the Earl of *Suffex* and his Countesse, who waited on them to the Lodging appointed for them. Scarce had she rested there four dayes, when she fell into a new travel, of which she was happily delivered by the birth of a son; whom the Queen Christned in her own person, by the name of *Edwardus Fortunatus*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* being Sponsors with her at the Font. She called him *Edward*, with relation to the King her brother, whose memory she dearly loved; and *Fortunatus* in regard that he came so luckily into the world, when his Mother after a most painful pilgrimage, was safely come to pay her Devotions at that Shrine which she so much honoured. Having remained here till the *April* following, they were dismissed with many rich Presents, and an annual pension from the Queen; conducted honourably by the Lord *Aburgavenny* to the Port of *Dover*, and there shipped for *Calais*; filling all places in the way betwixt that and *Baden*, with the report of the magnificence of their entertainment in the Court of *England*. And that the Glories of their entertainment might appear the greater, it hapned that *Rambouillet* a French Ambassador came hither at that time upon two solemnities; that is to say, to be installed Knight of the *Garrier* in the place and person of that King, and to present the Order of *St Michael*, (the principal Order of that Kingdom) to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Leicester*. The one performed with the accustomed Pomps and Ceremonies in the Chapel of *St George* at *Windfor*, the other with

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with like State and splendour, in the Royal Chapel at *Whitchall*. Such a well tempered piety did at that time appear in the Devotions of the Church of *England*; that generally the English Papists, and the Ambassadors of forein Princes still resorted to them.

But true it is, that at that time some zealors of the Church of *Rome* had begun to slacken their attendance, nor out of any new dislike which they took at the service, but in regard of a Decree set forth in the Council of *Trent*, prohibiting all resort to the Churches of Hereticks. Which notwithstanding the far greater part continued in their first obedience, till the coming over of that Roaring Bull from Pope *Pius* the 5th. by which the Queen was excommunicated, the subjects discharged from their obedience to the Laws, and the going or not going to the Church, made a *sign distinctivè* to difference a *Roman Catholic* from an *English Protestant*. And it is possible enough that they might have stood much longer to their first conformity, if the discords brought into the Church by the *Zuinglian* faction, together with their many innovations both in Doctrine and Discipline, had not afforded them some further ground for the desertion. For in this year it was that the *Zuinglian* or *Calvinian* faction began to be first known by the name of *Puritans*, if *Genebrard*, *Gualter*, and *Spodanus* (being all of them right good Chronologers) be not mistaken in the time. Which name hath ever since been appropriate to them, because of their pretending to a greater *Purity* in the service of God, than was *held forth* unto them (as they gave it out) in the Common Prayer Book; and to a greater opposition to the Rites and Usages of the Church of *Rome*, than was agreeable to the constitution of the Church of *England*. But this *Purity* was accompanied with such irreverence, this opposition drew along with it so much licentiousness, as gave great scandal and offence to all sober men; so that it was high time for those which had the care of the Church, to look narrowly unto them, to give a check to those disorders and confusions, which by their practices and their preachings they had brought into it, and thereby laid the ground of that woful schism which soon after followed. And for a check to those disorders, they published the Advertisement before remembered, subscribed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Rochester*, and other of her Majesties Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, according to the Statute made in that behalf.

This was the only present remedy which could then be thought of. And to prevent the like confusions for the time to come, a *Protestation* was devised to be taken by all Parsons, Vicars and Curates in their several Stations, by which they were required to declare and promise, "That they would not preach, nor publickly interpret, but only read that which is appointed by publick authority, without special Licence of the Bishop under his Seal; that they would read the Service plainly, distinctly, and audibly, that all the people might hear and understand; that they would keep the Register book according to the Queens Majesties Injunctions; that they would use sobriety in apparel, and especially in the Church at Common Prayers, according to Order appointed; that they would move the Parishioners to quiet and concord, and not give them cause of offence, and help to reconcile them that be at variance, to their utmost power; that they would read daily at the least one Chapter of the Old Testament, and another of the New, with good advisement, to the increase of their knowledge; that they would in their own persons, use and exercise their Office and Place, to the honour of God, and the quiet of the Queens subjects within their charge, in truth, concord and unity; as also observe, keep and mainrain such Order and Uniformity in all external Policy, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, as by the Lawes, good usages and Orders, are already well provided and established; and finally, that they would not openly meddle with any Artificers occupations, as coverously to seek a gain thereby, having in Ecclesiastical Livings;

“wings, twenty Nobles or above by the year. Which protestation, if it either had been generally pressed upon all the Clergy (as perhaps it was not) or better kept by them that took it, the Church might questionlesse have been saved from those distractions, which by the Puritan Innovators were occasioned in it.

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Thus have we seen the publick Liturgy confirmed in Parliament, with divers penalties on all those who either did reproach it, or neglect to use it, or wilfully withdrew their attendance from it; the Doctrine of the Church declared in the Book of Articles, agreed upon in Convocation, and ratified, in due form of Law, by the Queens authority; external matters in officiating Gods publick service, and the apparel of the Clergy, regulated and reduced to their first condition, by the Books of *Orders* and *Advertisements*. Nothing remaineth, but that we settle the Episcopal Government, and then it will be time to conclude this History. And for the settling of this Government by as good authority as could be given unto it by the Lawes of the Land, we are beholden to the obstinacy of Dr *Edmond Bonner*, the late great slaughter-man of London. By a Statute made in the last Parliament, for keeping her Majesties Subjects in their due obedience, a power was given unto the Bishops to tender and receive the oath of *Supremacy*, of all manner of persons, dwelling and residing in their several Diocesses. *Bonner* was then prisoner in the *Clink* or *Marshalsea*, which being in the Burrough of *Southwark*, brought him within the Jurisdiction of *Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*, by whose Chancellor the Oath was tender'd to him. On the refusal of which Oath, he is indicted at the Kings Bench upon the Statute, to which he appeared in some Term of the year foregoing, and desires that counsel be assigned to plead his cause, according to the course of the Court. The Court assigns him no worse men than *Christopher Way*, afterwards chief Justice of the Common Pleas, that famous Lawyer *Edmond Pleydon*, whose learned Commentaries do sufficiently set forth his great abilities in that Profession; and one Mr. *Lovelace*, of whom we find nothing but the name.

By them and their Advice, the whole pleading chiefly is reduced to these two heads, (to omit the nicities and punctilioes of lesser moment) the first whereof was this, That *Bonner* was not at all named in the indictment, by the stile and title of Bishop of London, but only by the name Dr. *Edmond Bonner*, Clerk, Dr. of the Lawes, whereas at that time he was legally and actually Bishop of London, and therefore the Writ to be abated, (as our Lawyers phrase it) and the cause to be dismissed out of the Court. But *Pleydon* found here that the Case was altered, and that this Plea could neither be allowed by *Cassile*, who was then Chief Justice, nor by any other of the Bench, and therefore it is noted by Chief Justice *Dyer* who reports the Case, with a *Non allocatur*. The second principle Plea was this, That *Horn* at the time when the Oath was tender'd, was not Bishop of *Winchester*, and therefore not empowered by the said Statute, to make tender of it by himself or his Chancellor. And for the proof of this, that he was no Bishop, it was alleged that the form of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, which had been ratified by Parliament in the time of King *Edward*, had been repealed in the first year of Queen *Mary*, and so remained at *Horn's* pretended consecration. The Cause being put off from Term to Term, comes at the last to be debated amongst the Judges at *Serjeants Inn*. By whom the cause was finally put upon the issue, and the tryal of that issue Ordered to be committed to a Jury of the County of *Surry*. But then withall it was advised, that the decision of the Point should rather be referred to the following Parliament, for fear that such a weighty matter might miscarry by a contrary Jury, of whose either partiality, insufficiency,

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ciency, there had been some proof made before, touching the grants made by King Edward's Bishops; of which a great many were made under this pretence, that the Granters were not actually Bishops, nor legally possessed of their several Sees.

According to this sound advice, the business comes under consideration in the following Parliament, which began on the 30th. of September, where all particulars being fully and considerately discoursed upon, it was first declared, "That their not restoring of that Book to the former power in terms significant and express, was but *Casus omisus*; and Secondly, That by the Statute 5th. and 6th. Edw. 6th. it had been added to the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments, as a member of it, or at least an appendant to it; and therefore by 1. Eli. was restored again, together with the said Book of Common Prayer, intentionally at the least, if not *in terminis*. But being the words in the said Statute were not clear enough to remove all doubts, they did therefore revive it now; and did accordingly Enact, that all persons that had been, or should be made, Ordered, or Consecrate Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers of Gods Holy Word and Sacraments, or Deacons after the form and order prescribed in the said Book, be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers and Deacons, rightly made, Consecrate, and Ordered, Any Statute, Law, Canon, or any thing to the contrary notwithstanding. Nothing else done in this Parliament which concerned the Church, nor any thing at all in the Convocation, by which it was of course accompanied, more than the granting of a Subsidy of six shillings in the pound out of all their Benefices and promotions. And as for Bonner, who was the other party to the cause in question, it was determined, that neither he, nor any other person or persons, should be impeached or molested in regard of any refusal of the said Oath heretofore made, and hereafter to be made before the end of that Parliament. Which favour was indulged unto them of the Laity, in hope of gaining them by said means to a fence of their duty; to Bonner and the rest of the Bishops, as men that had sufficiently suffered upon that account, by the loss of their Bishopricks.

By this last Act the Church is strongly settled on her natural pillars of Doctrine, Government and Worship, not otherwise to have been shaken, than by the blind zeal of all such furious *Sampsons* as were resolved to pull it on their own heads, rather than suffer it to stand in so much glory. And here it will be time to conclude this History, having taken a brief view of the State of the Church, with all the aberrations from its first constitution as it stood at this time, when the Puritan faction had began to disturb her Order, and that it may be done with a greater certainty, I shall speak it in the words of one, who lived, and writ his knowledge of it at this time, I mean John Russell, in his answer to the Bishops challenge. Who though he were a Papist, and a fugitive Priest, yet I conceive that he hath faithfully delivered to many sad truths in these particulars. Three books he writ within the compass of three years now last past against Bishop Jewel, in one of which he makes this address unto him, viz. *And though you Mr. Jewel (as I have heard say) do take the bread into your hands when you celebrate solemnly, yet thousands there are of your inferior Ministers, whose death it is to be bound to any such external fashion, and your Order of celebrating the Communion is so unadvisedly conceived, that every man is left unto his private Rule or Canon, whether he will take the bread into his hands, or let it stand at the end of the table, the Bread and Wine being laid upon the table, where it pleases the Sexton or Parish-Clerk to set them.* p. 28.

In the Primitive Church Altars were allowed amongst Christians, upon which they offered the unbloody sacrifice of Christs body; yet your company, to declare what followers they are of antiquity, do account it, even among one of the kinds of Idolatry,

Idolary, if one keep an Altar standing. And indeed you follow a certain Antiquity, not of the Catholicks, but of desperate Hereticks. Optatus writing of the Donatists, that they did break, raze, and remove the Altars of God upon which they offered. p. 34. and 165.

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Where singing is used, what shall we say to the ease of the people, that kneel in the body of the Church? yea, let them hearken at the Chancel door itself, they shall not be much wiser. Besides, how will you provide for great Parishes where a thousand people are, &c? p. 50.

Then to come to the Apostles, where did you ever read that in their external behaviour, they did wear Frocks or Gowns, or four-cornered Caps? or that a company of Lay-men-servants did follow them all in one Livery? or that at their Prayers they saie in sides, or lay on the ground, or fell prostrate, or sung Te Deum, or looked toward the South? or did wear Copes of Tissue or Velvet? with a thousand more such questions. p. 446.

Whereas the Church of God so well ordered with excellent men of learning and godlinesse, is constrained to suffer Coblers, Weavers, Tinkers, Tanners, Cardmakers, Tappers, Fiddlers, Gao'lers, and other of like profession, not only to enter into disputing with her, but also to climb up into Pulpits, and to keep the place of Priests and Ministers, &c. p. 2. Or that any Bagpipers, Horsecourfers, Jayers, or Ale basters, were admitted then into the Clergy, without good and long trial of their conversation? p. 162.

Or that any Bishop then did swear by his honour, when in his visitation abroad in the Country, he would warrant his promise to some poor prisoner Priest under him; or not satisfied with the prisoning of his adversary, did cry out, and call upon the Prince, not disposed that way, to put them to most cruel deaths; or refused to wear a white Rochet, or to be distinguished from the Laity by some honest Priests apparel, p. 162. or gathered a Benevolence of his Clergy to set him up in his household? p. 163.

Or that the Communion Table (if any then were) was removable up and down, hither and thither, and brought at any time to the lower parts of the Church, there to execute the Lords Supper--- or that any Communion was said on Good Friday, or that the Sacrament was ministred then, sometimes in loaf Bread, sometimes in Wafers, and those rather without the name of Jesus or the sign of the Crosse, than with it; or that at the Communion time the Minister should wear a Cope, and at all other Service a Surplice only; or as at some places it is used, nothing at all besides his common apparel, or that they used a common and prophane cup at the Communion, and not a consecrated and hallowed vessel? p. 162, 163.

Or that a solemn curse should be used on Ash Wednesday; or that a Procession about the fields was used in the Rogation week, rather thereby to know the bounds and borders of every Parish, than to move God to mercy, and shew mens hearts to devotion; or that the man should put the Wedding ring upon the fourth finger of the left hand of the Women, and not on the right, as hath been many hundred years continued? p. 163.

Or that the residue of the Sacrament unreceived, was taken of the Priest, or of the Parish Clerk, to spread their young childrens butter thereupon, or to serve their own tooth with it at their homely table; or that it was lawful then to have but one Communion in one Church in one day, p. 164. or that the Lent or Friday was to be fasted for civil policy, not for any devotion, p. 165. or that the Lay people communicating, did take the cup at one another hands, and not at the Priests? p. 166.

Or that any Bishop then, threw down the Images of Christ and his Saints, and set up their own, their wives, and their childrens pictures in their Chambers and Parlours, p. 164. or that being a virgin at the taking of his Office, did afterwards, yet commendably, take a wife unto him, p. 165. or that was married on Ash Wednesday; or that preached it to be all one to pray on a dunghil and in a Church; or that any Fryer of 60 years, obtaining afterwards the room of a Bishop, married a young woman of nineteen years, &c? p. 166.

An. Reg.
Eliz. 8.

1566.

Thus have we seen the Church established on a sure foundation; the Doctrine built upon the Prophets and Apostles, according to the explication of the ancient Fathers; the Government truly Apostolical, and (in all essential parts thereof) of Divine institution; the Liturgy an extract of the Primitive forms; the Ceremonies few, but necessary, and such as tended only to the preservation of decency, and increase of piety. And we have seen the first Essays of the *Puritan* faction, beginning low at Caps and Surplices, and Episcopal habits; but aiming at the highest points; the alteration of the Government both in Church and State, the adulterating of the Doctrine, and the subversion of the Liturgy and form of worship here by Law established. But the discovery of those dangerous Doctrines, and those secret Plots, and open practices, by which they did not only break down the roof and walls of this goodly building, but digged up the foundation of it, will better fall within the compass of a Presbyterian, or Arian History, for carrying on of whose designs since the dayes of *Calvin*, they have most miserably imbroyled all the Estates and Kingdomes of these parts of Christendome; the Realmes and Churches of Great Brittain more than all the rest. Let it suffice me for the present if I have set the Church on its proper bottom, and shewed her to the world in her Primitive lustre, that we may see how strangely she hath been unsettled, how monstrously disfigured by unquiet men, whose interests is as incompatible with the rights of Monarchy, as with distinction of apparrell, the Government of Bishops, all set formes of Prayer, and whatsoever also they contend against. And therefore heere I will conclude my History of the Reformation, as not being willing to look further into those disturbances, the lamentable effects whereof wee see to this very day.

A N
APPENDIX
To the former
BOOK:

CONTAINING,

1. *The Articles of Religion agreed upon in Convocation Anno 1562. compared with those which had been made and published in the Reign of King Edward the 6th Anno 1552.*
2. *Notes on the former Articles, concerning the Particulars in which they differed, and the reasons of it.*

Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other learned men

(1) in the Convocation held at London, in the year 1552. for the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and establishing consent touching true Religion :

Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of

both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the year 1562. for the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and establishing consent touching true Religion :

Published by the Kings Authority. Publish'd by the Queens Authority.

I.

Of Faith in the holy Trinity.

THere is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in Unity of this Godhead there are three Persons, one Substance, Power, and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost.

II.

The Word of God made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, took mans nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: So that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the (2) Godhead & Manhood, were joyn'd together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice not onely for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.

III.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ dyed for us, and was buried, so also is it to be believed that he went down into Hell: (3) For his Body lay in the Grave till his Resurrection, but his Soul being separate from his Body, remained with the Spirits which were detained in prison, that is to say, in Hell, and there preached unto them, as witnesseth that place of Peter.

I.

Of Faith in the holy Trinity.

THere is but one living and true God, Everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness. the Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in Unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one Substance, Power, and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost.

II.

Of the Word or Son of God which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one Substance with the Father: (2) took Man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, &c.

III.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ dyed for us, and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into Hell.

IV. The

IV.

The Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his Body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth till he return to judge all men at the last day.

(5)

IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his Body, with flesh, bones, &c.

V.

Of the holy Ghost.

The holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Substance, Majesty and Glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

V.

The Doctrine of the holy Scripture is sufficient to salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, although sometimes it may be admitted (6) by Gods faithful people as pious, and conducing unto order and decency, yet is not to be required of any man that it should be (7) believed as an Article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

VI.

Of the sufficiency of the holy Scriptures for salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought necessary or requisite to salvation.

In the name of the holy Scripture (7) we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church; that is to say,

Genesis	Joshua
Exodus	Judges
Leviticus	Ruth
Numbers	1st. of Samuel
Deuteronomy	2d. of Samuel &c.

And the other Books (as Hierom saith) the Church doth read for example of life, and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any Doctrine; such are these following,

The 3d. of Esdras	The Book of Judith
The 4th. of Esdras	The rest of the Book of Hester
The Book of Tobias	The Book of Wisdom, &c.

All

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them Canonical.

VI.

The Old Testament is not to be rejected.

The Old Testament is not to be rejected, as if it were contrary to the New, but to be retained. Forasmuch as in the Old Testament as in the New, everlasting life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator betwixt God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, who feign, that the old Fathers did look only for transitory Promises.

8

VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, for both in the Old and the New Testament Everlasting life is offered Mankind by Christ, &c.

(8)

Although the Law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof sought of necessity to be received in any Commonwealth; yet notwithstanding no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments, which are called Moral.

VII.

The three Creeds.

The three Creeds, *Nice Creed*, *Athanasius Creed*, and that which is commonly called the *Apostles Creed*, ought thoroughly to be received; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of the holy Scripture.

VIII.

Of the three Creeds.

The three Creeds, *Nice Creed*, *Athanasius Creed*, and that which is commonly called the *Apostles Creed*, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.

VIII.

Original Sin.

Original sin standeth not in the following of *Adam*, (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk, and at this day is affirmed by the *Anabaptists*;) (9) but it is the fault and corruption of every man, that naturally is ingendred of the offspring of *Adam*, whereby Man is very far from God, from Original Righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit, and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth Gods wrath and damnation. And this infection of

9

IX.

Of Original or Birth-sin.

Original sin standeth not in the following of *Adam* (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk) but is the fault and the corruption of the nature of every man, &c.

As a

nature

nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek φρόνιμα σαρκός, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of it self the nature of sin.

IX.

Of Free-will.

We have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us, when we have that good will.

X.

Of Grace.

The Grace of Christ, or the holy Ghost which is given by him, (11) doth take from man the heart of stone, and giveth him a heart of flesh. And though it rendreth us willing to do those good works which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do those evil works which before we did, yet is no violence offered by it to the will of man; so that no man when he hath sinned can excuse himself, as if he had sinned against his will, or upon constraint, and therefore that he ought not to be accused or condemned upon that account.

IX.

12 *Of the Justification of Man. (12)*

Justification by faith onely in Jesus Christ, in that sense wherein it is set forth in the Homily of *Justification*, is the most certain and most wholesome doctrine for a Christian man.

X.

Of Free-will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, (10) that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable unto God, &c.

XI.

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted Righteous before God onely for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore that we are justified by faith is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

XII.

13

· XII.

Of good works.

Albeit the good works which are the fruits of faith, (13) and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of Gods judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable unto God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruit.

XII.

works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ; neither do they make men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School-Authors say) deserve Grace of Congruity; yea rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

XIII.

Of works before Justification.

Works done before the Grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, &c.

XIII.

Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works besides, over and above Gods Commandements, which they call works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety; for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to doe, but that they do more for his sake, than of bounden duty is required; Whereas Christ saith plainly, *When you have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.*

XIV.

Of works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works besides, over and above Gods commandments, which they call works of Supererogation, &c.

XIV.

None but Christ without sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things (sin only except) from which he was clearly void both in his flesh and in his spirit: He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him: But all we the rest (although baptized and born in Christ) yet offend in many things, and if we say we have no sin we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us.

XV.

Of Christ alone without sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, (sin only except) &c.

XV.

Of the sin against the holy Ghost.

Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after Baptism, is sin against the holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of Repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the holy Ghost, we may depart from Grace given, and fall into sin, and by the Grace of God (we may) arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which say, They can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of Penance (14) to such as truly repent.

XVI.

Of Sin after Baptism.

Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after Baptism, is sin against the holy Ghost, and unpardonable, &c.

And therefore they are to be condemned which say, They can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of Forgiveness to such as truly repent.

XVI.

The Blasphemy against the holy Ghost.

The Blasphemy against the holy Ghost is then committed, (15) when any man, out of malice and hardness of heart, doth wilfully reproach, and persecute in an hostile manner, the truth of Gods Word, manifestly made known unto him. Which sort of men, being made obnoxious to the curse, subject themselves to the most grievous of all wickednesses; from whence this kind of sin is called unpardonable, and so

affirmed

affirmed to be by our Lord and Saviour.

XVII.

Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination unto life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret unto us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen out of Mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honor. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to Gods purpose, by his Spirit working in due season; they through grace obey the calling, they be justified freely, they are made sons by Adoption, they are made like the image of the onely begotten Jesus Christ, they walk religiously in good works, and at length by Gods mercy they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination and Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of Gods Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchedness of most unclean living, no lesse perilous than desperation.

XVII.

Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination unto life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret unto us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ, (16) out of Mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation.

---they are made the sons of God by Adoption, they be made like the Image of His onely begotten Son Jesus Christ, &c.

- 17 Furthermore, *though the Decrees of* *Furthermore, we must receive Gods*
Predestination be unknown to us, (17) *promises in such wise as they be gene-*
 yet must we receive Gods promises *rally set forth to us, &c.*
 in such wise as they be generally set
 forth to us in holy Scripture; and in
 our doings that will of God is to be
 followed, which we have expressly
 declared unto us in the Word of
 God.

XVIII.

XVIII.

Everlasting Salvation to be obtain- *Of obtaining Eternal Salvation by the*
ed only in the Name of Christ. *Name of Christ.*

They also are to be had accursed,
 that presume to say, That every man
 shall be saved by the Law or Sect
 which he professeth, so that he be di-
 ligent to frame his life according to
 that Law, and the light of Nature :
 For holy Scripture doth set out unto
 us only the Name of Jesus Christ,
 whereby men must be saved.

They also are to be had accursed,
 that presume to say, That every man
 shall be saved by the Law or Sect
 which he professeth, &c.

XIX.

- 18 *All men are bound to keep the Pre-*
cepts of the Moral Law. (18)

Although the Law given from God
 by Moses as touching Ceremonies and
 Rites, do not bind Christian men,
 nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought
 of necessity to be received in any
 Common-wealth; yet notwithstand-
 ing no Christian man whatsoever is
 free from the obedience of the
 Commandments which are called
 Moral. Wherefore they are not
 19 to be heard (19) which teach, that the
 holy Scriptures were given to none
 but to the *Weak*, and brag continually
 of the Spirit, by which they do pre-
 tend, that all whatsoever they preach
 is suggested to them, though mani-
 festly contrary to the holy Scrip-
 ture.

XX.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a Congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministred, according to Christs Ordinance, in all those things, that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch* have erred, so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not onely in their Livings, and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.

XIX.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a Congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, &c.

XXI.

Of the Authority of the Church.

It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to Gods Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another; Wherefore although the Church be a witnesse and keeper of holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed, for necessity of Salvation.

XX.

Of the Authority of the Church.

The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith. (20) It is not lawful for the Church, &c.

XXII.

Of the Authority of General Councils.

General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an Assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God) they may erre, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to Salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless

XXI.

Of the Authority of General Councils.

General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes, &c.

it

it may be declared, that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

XXIII.

Of Purgatory.

The Doctrine of the School-men concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping, and Adoration, as well of Images as of Relicks, and also invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather perniciously repugnant to the Word of God.

XXIV.

No man to minister in the Church except he be called.

It is not lawfull for any man to take upon him the office of publick Preaching, or ministring the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men, who have publick Authority, given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lords Vineyard.

XXV.

All things to be done in the Congregation in such a Tongue as is understood by the People.

It is most fit, and most agreeable to ²¹ *to the Word of God, (21)* that nothing be read or rehearsed in the Congregation, in a Tongue not known unto the People; which *Paul* hath forbidden to be done, unless some be present to interpret.

XXVI.

Of the Sacraments.

²² *Our Lord Jesus Christ gathered his*
²³ *people into a Society (22) by Sacra-*

XXII.

Of Purgatory.

The Doctrine of the School-men concerning Purgatory, &c.

XXIII.

Of ministring in the Congregation.

It is not lawfull for any man to take upon him the office of publick Preaching, &c.

XXIV.

Of speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue, as the people understandeth.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the primitive Church, to have publick prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a Tongue not understood by the people.

XXV.

Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments ordained of Christ (23) be not onely badges and tokens of Christments

ments very few in number, most easie to be kept, and of most excellent signification, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon or to be carried about, but that we should daily use them. And in such onely as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation, not as some say, *Ex opere operato*.

24 (24) Which terms as they are strange
25 Scripture, so do they yield a sense which savoureth of little piety, but of much superstition: but they that receive them unworthily receive to themselves damnation.

The Sacraments ordained by the Word of God, be not onely badges or tokens of Christian mens profession; but rather they be certain sure witnesses, effectual signs of grace, and Gods Good will toward us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not onely quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

istian mens profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signes of Grace, and Gods good-will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not onely quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments (25), that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extream Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown, partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments, with Baptism and the Lords Supper, for that they have not any visible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed on or to be carried about, but that we should daily use them. And in such onely as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; But they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves Damnation, as St. Paul saith.

XXVII.

The wickedness of the Ministers takes not away the Efficacy of Divine Institutions.

Although in the visible Church, the Evil be ever mingled with the Good, and sometimes the Evil have chief Authority in the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments; yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christs, and do minister by his Commission and Authority, we may use their Ministry both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving of the Sacraments; Neither is the effect of Christs Ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the Grace of Gods Gifts diminished from such as by faith and

XXVI.

Of the unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinder not the Effect of the Sacraments.

Although in the visible Church, the Evil be ever mingled, &c.

rightly do receive the Sacraments, minitred unto them which be effectual, because of Christs Institution and promise, although they be ministred by evill men.

Nevertheless it appertaineth to the Discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made after them, and that they be accused by those, that have knowledge of their offences; and finally being found guilty by just judgment be deposed.

-----that inquiry be made after evill Ministers, &c.

XXVIII.

Of Baptism.

Baptism is not onely a sign of Profession, and mark of Difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others, that be not Christned; but it is also a sign of Regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an Instrument, they that receive Baptism Rightly, are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our Adoption to be the sons of God, by the holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace increased by vertue of Prayer unto God. The custom of the Church (26) for Baptising young Children is both to be commended, and by all means to be retained in the Church.

26

27

XXVII.

Of Baptism.

Baptism is not onely a sign of Profession, and mark of Difference, &c.

-----The Baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable to the Institution of Christ. (27)

XXIX.

Of the Lords Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not onely a sign of the Love that Christians ought to have amongst themselves, one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christs death. In somuch, that to such as Rightly, Worthily, and with Faith receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repug-

XXVIII.

Of the Lords Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not onely a sign of the Love, &c.

-----but is repugnant to the plain
nant

28 nant to the plain words of Scripture, and hath given occasion to many Superstitions.

29 Since the very being of human nature doth require; (29) that the body of one and the same man cannot be at 30 one and the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place; therefore the Body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time. And since, as the holy Scriptures testify, Christ hath been taken up into Heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the world; it becommeth not any of the faithful to believe or professe, that there is a Real or Corporal presence (as they phrase it) of the Body and Blood of Christ in the holy Eucharist.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper, was not by Christs Ordinance, reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament (28), and hath given occasion to many Superstitions:

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner (30): And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper was not by Christs Ordinance, &c.

XXIX.

Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the Lords Supper. (31)

The wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly presse with their teeth (as St. Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ; but rather to their condemnation, do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

XXX.

Of Both Kinds. (32)

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay People; For both the parts of the Lords Sacrament, by Christs Ordinance and Commandment, ought to be ministred to all Christian People alike.

XXX.

Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Crosse.

The Offering of Christ once made, is the perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the sins of the whole World, both Original and Actual, and there is none other Satisfaction for sin but that alone; Wherefore the Sacrifices of Masses, in which it was commonly said, that the Priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were fables and dangerous deceits.

33

XXXI.

Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Crosse.

The offering of Christ once made is the perfect Redemption, &c.

— were blasphemous fables and (33) dangerous deceits.

XXXI.

A single Life is imposed on none by the word of God.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of a single life, or to abstain from Marriage.

34

XXXII.

Of the Marriage of Priests.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by Gods Law, &c.

Therefore it is lawful also for them, (34) as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godlinesse.

XXXII.

Excommunicated Persons are to be avoided.

That person which by open Denunciation of the Church, is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and Excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an Heathen, and Publican, untill he be openly reconciled by Penance, and received into the Church by a Judge which hath authority thereunto.

XXXIII.

Of Excommunicated Persons, how they are to be avoided.

That person which by open Denunciation of the Church, &c.

XXXIII.

Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of Countries, Times, and mens Manners, so that nothing be ordained against Gods Word. Whosoever through his private judgment willingly and purposefully doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth against the common Order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the Consciences of the weak Brethren.

35

XXXIV.

Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies, &c.

Every particular or National Church (35) hath Authority to ordain, change or abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, ordained only by Man's Authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

XXXIV.

Of the Homilies.

The Homilies lately delivered (36) and commended to the Church of England by the Kings Injunctions, do contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and fit to be embraced by all men; and for that cause they are diligently, plainly, and distinctly to be read to the People.

36

XXXV.

Of Homilies.

The second Book of Homilies, the several Titles whereof we have joyned under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for the times; as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the sixth: and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches, by the Ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the People.

The names of the Homilies.

Of the Right use of the Church.
Of Repairing Churches,
Against the Peril of Idolatry.
Of Good Works, &c.

XXXV. Of

XXXV.

Of the Book of Common Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England.

- The Book lately delivered to the Church of England, by the Authority of the King and Parliament (37), containing the manner and form of public Prayer, and the ministration of the Sacraments, in the said Church of England; as also the Book published by the same Authority for Ordering Ministers in the Church, are both of them very pious, as to truth of Doctrine, in nothing contrary, but agreeable to the wholesome Doctrine of the Gospel, which they do very much promote and illustrate. And for that cause they are by all faithful Members of the Church of England, but chiefly of the Ministers of the Word, with all thankfulness and readiness of mind, to be received, approved, and commended to the People of God.

XXXVI.

Of the Civil Magistrates.

- The King of England is after Christ (39) the Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England and Ireland.

The Bishop of Rome hath no Jurisdiction in this Realm of England.

The Civil Magistrate is ordained and approved by God, and therefore are to be obeyed, not onely for fear of wrath, but for conscience sake.

40

XXXVI.

Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

The Book of Consecration of (38) Archbishops and Bishops, and ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of King Edward the sixth, and confirmed at the same time by Authority of Parliament; doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering. Neither hath it any thing that of it self is superstitious and ungodly; And therefore whosoever are Consecrated or ordered according to the Rites of that Book, since the second year of the afore-named King Edward, unto this time, or hereafter shall be Consecrated or ordered, according to the same Rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully Consecrated and Ordered.

XXXVII.

Of the Civil Magistrates.

The Queens Majesty hath the chief Power in this Realm of England, and other her Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all cases doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be subject to any Foreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queens Majesty the chief Government (40), by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended: We give not to our Princes the Ministry, either of Gods Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen, do most plainly testify: but that onely Prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all

Civil or temporal Laws may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear Weapons, and serve in the Wars.

XXXVII.

The goods of Christians are not common.

The Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right title and possession of the same, as certain *Anabaptists* do falsely boast. Notwithstanding every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

XXXVIII.

It is lawful for a Christian to take an Oath.

As we confesse that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and *James* his Apostle; so we judge that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of Faith and Charity, so it be done according to the Prophets teaching, in Justice, Judgment, and Truth.

all godly Princes, in holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule all Estates committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil doers.

The Bishop of Rome hath no Jurisdiction in this Realm of England.

The Laws of this Realm may punish Christian men with death, &c.

XXXVIII.

Of Christian mens Goods which are not common.

The Riches and Goods of Christian men are not common, &c.

XXXIX.

Of a Christian man's Oath.

As we confesse that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men, &c.

XXXIX.

The Resurrection of the Dead is not past already. (41)

41

The Resurrection of the dead is not past already, as if it belonged onely to the Soul, which by the grace of Christ is raised from the death of sin, but is to be expected by all men in the last Day: for at that time, as the Scripture doth most apparently testifie, the dead shall be restored to their own bodies, flesh and bones, to the end that the wicked man, according as either righteously or wickedly he hath passed this life, may, according to his works, receive rewards or punishments.

XL.

- 42 *The Souls of men deceased do neither perish with their Bodies. (42)*

They who maintain, that the Souls of men deceased do either sleep without any manner of sense to the day of Judgment; or affirm that they dye together with the Body, and shall be raised therewith at the last Day, do wholly differ from the Right Faith and Orthodox Belief, which is delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures.

XLI.

- 43 *Of the Millenarians. (43)*

They who endeavour to revive the Fable of the *Millenarians*, are therein contrary to the holy Scriptures, and cast themselves down headlong into Jewish Dotages.

XLII.

- 44 *All men not to be saved at last. (44)*

They also deserve to be condemned, who endeavor to restore that pernicious Opinion, that all men, though never so ungodly, shall at last be saved; when for a certain time, appointed by the Divine Justice, they have endured punishment for their sins committed.



FINIS.

2

